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*Editor's Note:
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A Memo to Our Readers



Stone, Parshall, Newman and McCarten review the layouts for *Dateline*. This year's theme was "a natural for us," says Editor Stone.

In our search for a distinguished magazine to produce this issue of *Dateline*, we turned to *U.S. News & World Report* for two reasons: Located in Washington, it was in a strong position to cover the major news center of the Western World; and it had not previously been associated with the Overseas Press Club in turning out one of our annual magazines. When the invitation was extended to Marvin L. Stone, Editor of *USN&WR*, he responded readily and came up with what we found to be an irresistible theme for the issue: The press and its coverage of elections.

"A thorough analysis of how the press covers politics in an election year is a natural for us," Stone said. "We've always considered Washington our town. We've had our editorial offices here from the start—almost 50 years—and have been dissecting national politics from this vantage point just as long."

Stone assembled a team to get the book under way. Art Director Donald McCarten began designing layouts that would make *Dateline* this year a *U.S. News* look-alike. Assistant Managing Editor Gerald Parshall, acting as Managing Editor for the OPC project, went to work on a story lineup. "We decided right away we didn't want mushy self-congratulatory pieces," says Parshall. "We wanted to examine the subject with the same cold and fishy eye that we turn on others."

I hope you agree, after reading this issue, that the editors and writers have succeeded admirably. Pulitzer Prize-winner Haynes Johnson leads off with a penetrating look at recent changes engulfing campaign reporting. Eric Sevareid offers biting criticism of the news business. Columnists Tom Braden and Pat Buchanan debate press bias. Roscoe Drummond assesses newspaperdom's leading pundits. A TV critic from mid-America tears into the networks for their campaign coverage, and anchormen and news executives fire back in self-defense. Foreign correspondents based in Washington size up our press coverage. Humorists Mark Russell and Art Buchwald provide some leavening.

U.S. News staffers zero in on other topics, among them: The "Rose Garden strategy" of Presidents; the wild and woolly life on the press bus, beautifully captured in the cover cartoon by Basset of Scripps-Howard; the newsroom mania for polls; profiles of press aides of presidential candidates. Last but not most definitely not least, *Dateline* presents the winners of OPC awards for 1979 and describes the work for which they have been honored.

Joseph Newman
Publisher

DATELINE

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA

1980, Vol. XXIV

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& WORLD REPORT

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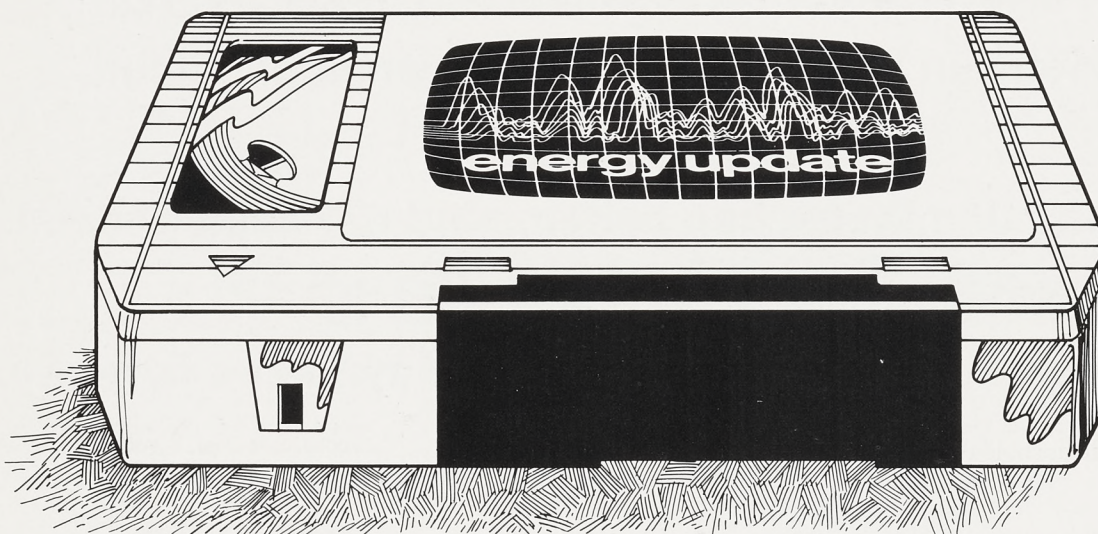
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The best ideas are the ideas that help people.

Today's Path to Glory— Cover the Political Wars

That army of journalists moving across America knows what it's after. Forget the globe's distant corners. Fame beckons from the campaign trail, reports Haynes Johnson.

In the more innocent past, the idol of all journalists was Richard Harding Davis. Handsome and debonair, with dash and daring, Davis had everything.

He was Galahad in a trench coat, the brightest star in the press galaxy, with a virtual patent on glamour. For a generation of journalists, fame meant following in his legendary footsteps and becoming a war correspondent.

How fashions of the press have changed. Today's path to press glory lies not so much overseas as here at home. In today's press corps, the most prized assignment is covering the political battlegrounds across America, and the pinnacle of success is to be the top correspondent on the presidential trail.

Now the boys and girls of the press are all crowding aboard the campaign bus. They wear their Burberrys as badges of entry to the national-election wars. And, in fact, they cover the election much like a war—a contest involving grand strategy, opening skirmishes and quick assaults, with bitter defeats and long, forced marches and, finally, for one of the gladiators, victory. Even the terminology—the Campaign—evokes a military image.

In the process of this evolution, the role of the press in national elections has changed dramatically. No matter how much we pretend we're really only observers, dispassionate

bystanders just reporting the facts—thank you, citizens—the press now stands at the center of the electoral process.

Never have we been so influential. Never has our sheer presence been so overpowering. Never have we showered so much money on the presidential race. And never, I would submit, have we been watched so closely—and, yes, critically—by citizens and politicians alike.

Which is as it should be.

This first presidential election of the 1980s bears impressive evidence of the pre-eminent position of the press in selecting the next President. It also demonstrates something else. Instead of becoming more manageable, our system of choosing Presidents becomes more disorderly.

That places special additional burdens on both press and candidates. The loser in this is easy to pick—the public. For what we're seeing now in Election

'80 adds further testimony to the difficulties of running for the office.

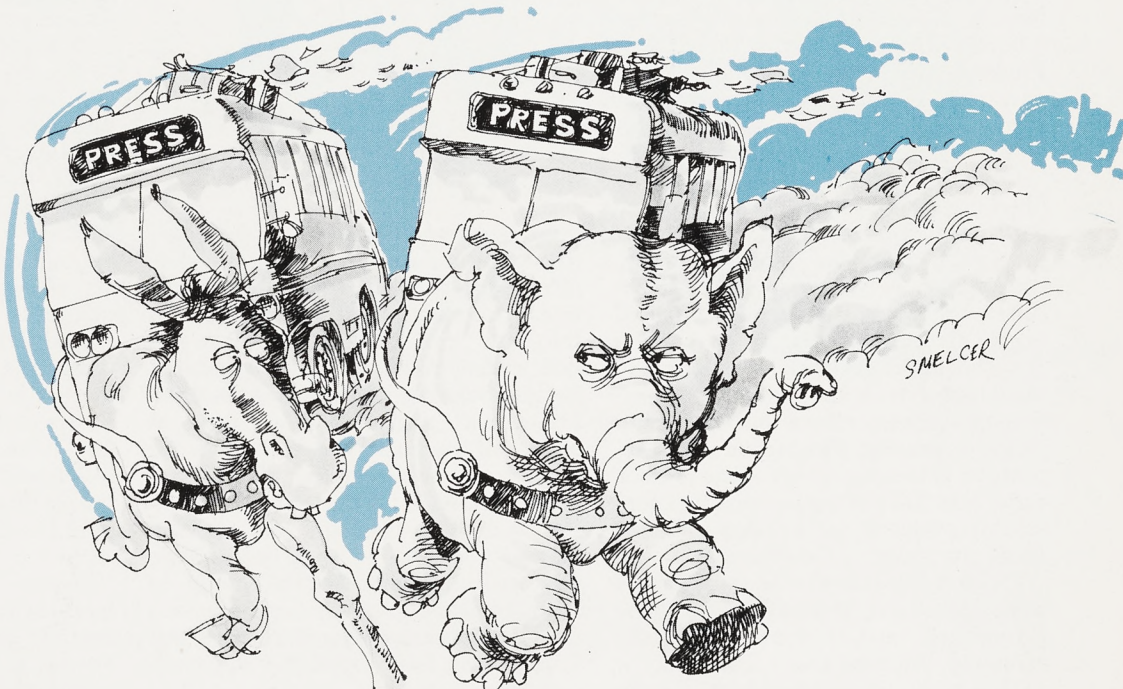
To the potential President, the realities of running mean even greater effort has to be expended in campaigning, leaving still less time for planning what to do once in office.

Taking their model from the extraordinary success of Jimmy Carter in 1976 (he was, lest we forget, the only true political outsider elected to the Presidency in this century), more candidates in 1980 found themselves forced to start their campaigns far earlier. They had to be prepared to contest in more primaries, cross the country more often, and, everywhere, promise the impossible to citizens.

Proliferation of the primaries continues. Democratic presidential aspirants who labored through 17 costly state primaries in 1968, then endured 23 in 1972 and 31 in 1976, this time have to run in 37 of them in 35 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

Distant dream. The day of the regional or national primary—in my view a useful reform that would shorten this debilitating process, better enable attention to be focused on issues, and perhaps generate greater public interest and participation in the campaign—remains as distant as ever.

And in 1980 we're seeing another phenomenon. The political-party caucuses held to pick delegates for the nominating conventions of the summer have become invested this time with all the importance of the major



primary states. Who says so? Why, the press, of course. And who courts the press avidly in states like Iowa and Maine on their caucus days? Why, the candidates, of course.

A personal aside: I'll not soon forget the first day I stepped into the Des Moines airport the week before the Iowa caucuses. I had come in aboard Senator Edward Kennedy's campaign plane. There, waiting inside the airport concourse, was as great a crowd of journalists as you're going to see packed together in one place. I saw virtually everyone I know in the national press corps, and many whose faces had not turned up since the campaign days of four years ago.

The news vote. It wasn't just Kennedy who attracted this army of journalists. They were there to capture the mystical meaning of Iowa. Ever since Jimmy Carter got his first surge in the national press by doing well in Iowa in 1976—well, that is, by press reckoning—the caucuses had taken on special significance for the other candidates who sought to duplicate his success and to break out of the pack by gracing newsmagazine covers and being portrayed prominently on the network-television news programs.

In other words, they were battling not so much for the acclaim of Iowa citizens, but the approval of the national press, which could, conceivably, propel them to eventual victory.

That army of reporters—and cameramen—and technicians—and producers—moved in one great caravan from candidate arrival to arrival and from town to town across Iowa. Not that New Hampshire, another atypical state, was neglected in the weeks that followed. Once again that small New England state became the stage for the national press, and once again it seemed as if there were as many journalists as voters in New Hampshire.

I believe we in the press literally filled every motel from Nashua to Concord, and I know that you could hardly move into any New Hampshire road, heading in any direction, without encountering some sign of the intrepid press corps on the trail of the big story—a speeding network truck racing to Manchester with shots of test-tube-of-democracy scenes from that day's campaign, a passing glimpse of other reporters returning from door-to-door surveys in the bellwether precinct that would reveal all we needed to know about the mood of the electorate.

I can remember when reporters were something of a curiosity in New Hampshire, instead of a staple of the economy; but then that's dating me.

This is my sixth presidential cam-

paign and, aside from a certain creakiness in the joints and perhaps a hardening of the political arteries, that has significance. That first campaign I covered, 1960, marked the birth of the modern age of American politics—and of the modern age of the press. I'm not referring to the candidates of that year or to how John Kennedy and Richard Nixon fared. What set 1960 apart from the past was one critical factor.

It was the year in which television came into its own in the political process. All of American politics since—and certainly all of the press—has been transformed by that ascendant role of the ubiquitous TV camera.

Here's a thesis: I don't think we old-



Correspondent Richard Harding Davis with Teddy Roosevelt in 1898.

fashioned pencil pushers of the press fully appreciate just how TV has changed our jobs and affected the political process in presidential years. In the past, "print journalists," as we're now called, could cover the presidential campaign in leisurely fashion. Politics was a "game," and we were in charge of the board. Even the way we moved and watched the players was more relaxed: The day of the whistle-stop campaign by train was not that long ago, and the pace of the caravan was in keeping with that mode of transportation.

Television has changed all that, just as television has altered the way campaigns are waged.

Today television even more strongly dominates the electoral process, and its power in selecting—and rejecting—the leading candidates consequently increases. The operative word in American politics today is recognition. Without it, you can't get to first base, and it comes almost entirely from television.

Candidates scramble all the more to be seen and heard, fleetingly, over the national networks. In the resulting cacophony, one political voice often cancels another. But every candidate, and every campaign manager, knows he can't win if he can't get on the tube. Consequently, the heart of today's political strategy aims at the camera.

Television affects the national election in another vital way—money. The necessity for national and local TV spots that saturate the airwaves during election periods significantly contributes to the astronomical costs of campaigning, costs that make it increasingly difficult for even the best-financed candidates to survive the course.

Ideally, the two sides of the political press, electronic and written, should complement each other. Nothing can take TV journalism's place in providing personal insight into the candidates who come to us via the tube.

But, of necessity, TV news provides essentially a headline service; it leaves room for greater delineation of issues and personalities by the writers. Or should. There, if my colleagues in the corps will permit some criticism, is where we pencil pushers often fall.

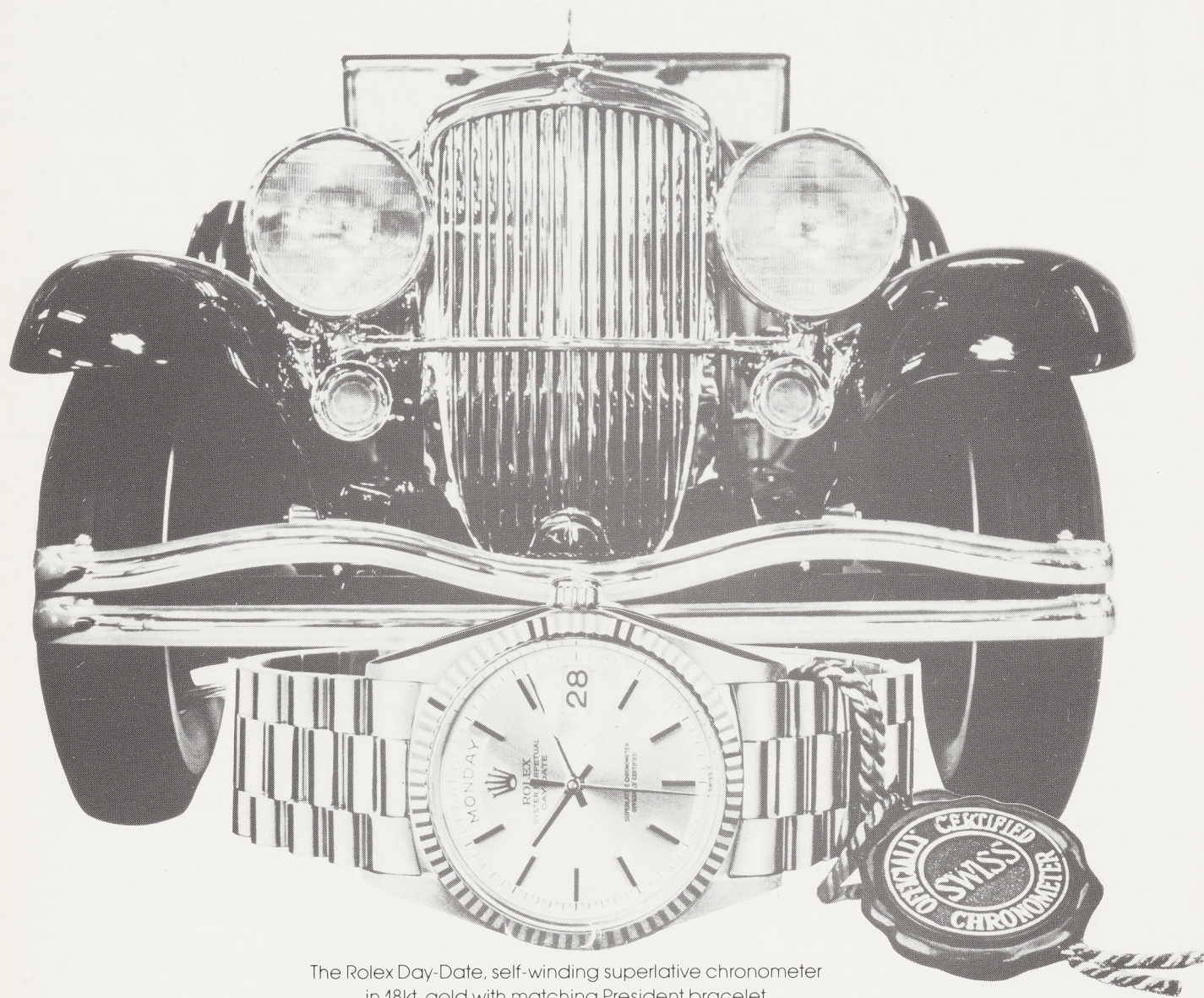
Place your bets! Too often we treat politics as a horse race, with we in the press as handicappers. We're very good at picking the winner and losers (well, sometimes we are), at detecting the dark horses and front-runners.

We are not as sharp at unraveling the issues, or determining how and why voters feel and act as they do, or helping citizens better understand the people who offer themselves for national leadership. It seems to me we also rely too much on the polls and not enough on the ancient but honorable art of reporting by expending large quantities of shoe leather.

And, I fear, we are guilty of something else. We're better at reporting the battle instead of the war. But then I suspect, for all his elegance and style, for all his properly tailored uniforms purchased at Abercrombie's, for all his purple prose, so was old Richard Harding Davis himself. *Plus ça change.* □

Haynes Johnson, a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for the Washington Post, is author of In the Absence of Power, a new book about the Carter administration.

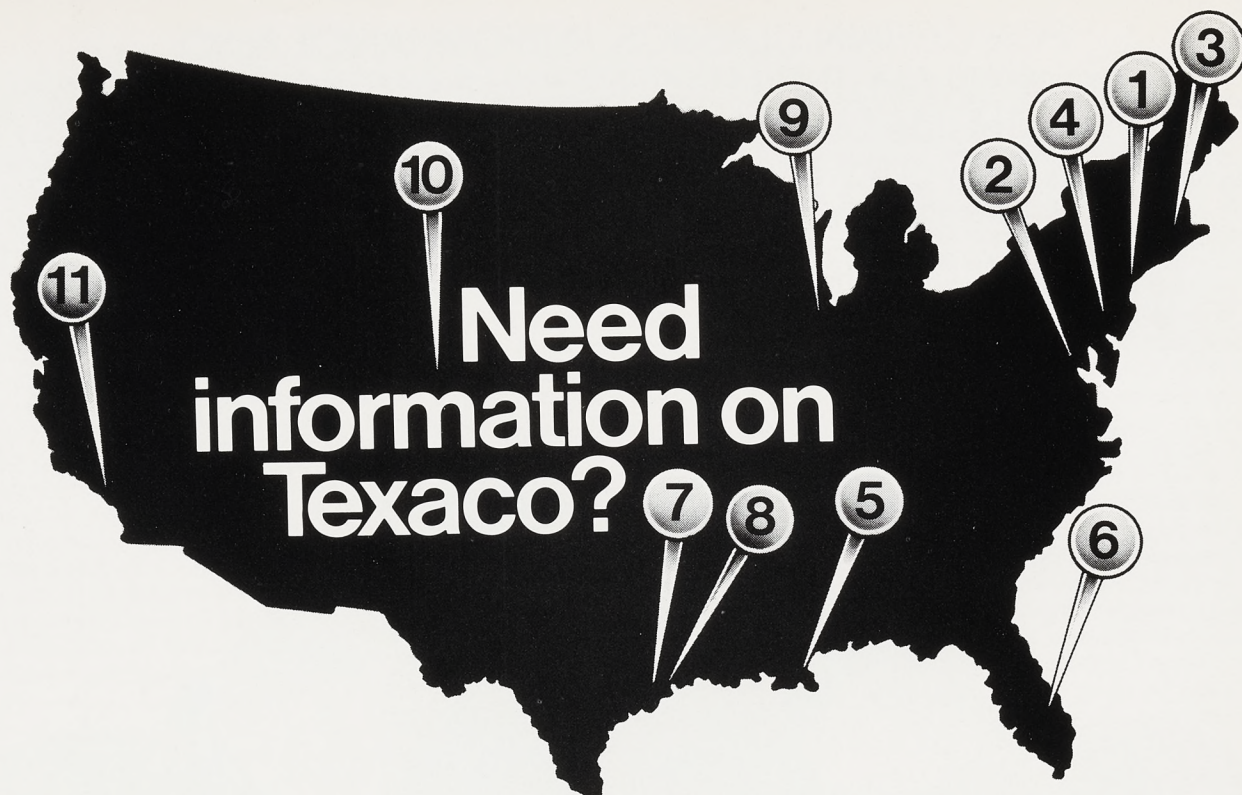
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Oval Office: Using Press As Trumpet

Reporters may fume, but they seldom have any luck smoking out a President bent on campaigning from the Rose Garden, John W. Mashek finds. History tells the reason.

In any election for the White House, nobody can match the firepower of the man who's already living there.

The 1980 election is demonstrating once again that the majesty and perquisites of the Presidency make 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue the best podium from which to run a campaign.

Other candidates, dashing around the country to get the same amount of attention, rate as barely more than understudies to the star. In news competition with the President, they can only complain about what they view as unfair and unequal treatment.

Jimmy Carter knows all about that—from both sides. When Carter was a mere citizen candidate, he and his angry aides wailed about Jerry Ford's stay-at-home campaign. The cry then: "Ford's hiding in the White House."

What a difference four years can make. The opening months of the 1980 campaign found Carter happily playing the twin roles of President and Democratic Party candidate. Now it was Carter who was above the contenders' struggle—shunning debates with opponents, campaigning in his own back yard.

Hypocrisy? "No," said a Carter associate, "things are different this time. We're in a crisis."

Garden variety. Crisis or not, there's a trade word for this type of campaign. It is called the "Rose Garden strategy," so named for the beautiful garden just a few steps from the Oval Office. It is among those glorious roses that Presidents Car-



GAMBLE IN NASHVILLE BANNER

ter, Ford, Nixon, Eisenhower and Roosevelt—to name only a few—could get ample notice with any kind of event.

Caught in the middle of reporting the President and the candidate: The White House press corps.

On one side, reporters recognize the danger of being used during a campaign when the President emerges for an event or a "photo opportunity," staged or real. On the other hand, they feel the duty to report actions of the President as legitimate news.

As one veteran reporter of several

Rose Garden campaigns puts it: "The President seeks to blur the wearing of his presidential hat and his campaigner's hat. It's up to you to try to separate them. And it's almost impossible."

Carroll Kilpatrick, longtime White House correspondent of the *Washington Post* and now retired, covered several Rose Garden campaigns during his 14 years on the beat. Television, he notes, has changed the strategy of presidential advisers. They now take care to schedule events during the day with awareness that film will make the nightly network television newscasts as well as produce copy for the wire services and newspapers.

Kilpatrick observes: "Sure, reporters are fed a lot of canned stuff—awards, bill signings, endorsements and the like. You can't ignore them, but you report the events for what they are."

But he acknowledges: "It's an old cliché in Washington, but it is hard to beat a sitting President. They'll play those events for all they're worth."

Judy Woodruff of NBC News points out that many White House announcements are made late in the day, so there's little or no opportunity to dig for the other side of the story. She says: "They are always passing stuff out around 5 p.m. They are legitimate stories, and you can't ignore them, because it is the President of the United States making the announcement."

Example: Reporters and photographers were rushed into the Oval Office one day to capture Carter calling then-Prime Minister Joe Clark of Canada to thank him for his country's role in sneaking some American diplomats out of Iran. Carter made news on the

Carter telephones Canadian Prime Minister, an event designated a "photo opportunity" by White House.



phone in the warmth of his office, while his rivals were trudging the icy sidewalks of New Hampshire with no chance in the world of matching the drama of that scene. Said one reporter: "I heard people say it made good television, but they felt used. To me, it seemed like a blatant political move."

Harry Kelly, former White House correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and now national editor of the *Washington Star*, says of the dilemma: "It is clear that reporters today, stuck in the White House environment, are in a situation where information is presented to them favorable to Carter. It is true on Iran, Afghanistan, foreign policy. Any kind of criticism, for balance, in a crisis situation is usually not forthcoming."

Phil Jones, who covered the Ford White House for CBS News, says: "There's really nothing you can do about campaigning in the Rose Garden. The fact is that people want their President on the job."

Another favorite election-year tactic is for White House aides to arrange more background sessions during political seasons, attempting to use them to score points for their boss or lambaste some opponent without being held accountable for the quotes. Frank Cormier, senior correspondent for the Associated Press, says reporters ought to be wary of that maneuver.

Explains Cormier: "On a political story, I don't feel that I should take comments on background from politicians or their aides who are campaigning. If he wants his name on it, on the record, that's fine."

"Little needles." Painfully aware of their predicament in covering the White House while the incumbent tries to get re-elected, some reporters resort to needling. Edward Walsh of the *Washington Post* has covered Ford and Carter and defends the use of "little needles" in stories to make a point.

Walsh comments: "This is the second time through for me, and I find it obnoxious and appalling. The Carter people screamed about Ford doing it in 1976. Now, they are very sanctimonious, saying it is for the national good because of foreign-policy concerns."

Helen Thomas of United Press International says all Presidents seem to believe firmly that the press corps is unduly tough on them. She adds: "So we're ignored, evaded, sidestepped

and outmaneuvered. And I've not seen any President who couldn't handle himself well against the press."

There was one modern President who could handle the press but disdained using the Rose Garden as the place to do it. In 1948, President Harry Truman, far behind in the polls, took his "give 'em hell" show on the road. Truman's attacks on the "do nothing" Republican 80th Congress made head-

lines across the country. After whistle-stopping by train for two months before the election, Truman scored one of the biggest political upsets of all time. Republican Thomas E. Dewey almost certainly would have won if Truman had stayed at home.

Since then, however, Presidents have invariably used their own brand of the Rose Garden technique when they sought another four-year term.



Campaigning from Oval Office in 1976, Gerald Ford remained at home in race against Jimmy Carter. It almost worked in close election.



In the splendor of the Rose Garden, Ford answers questions from reporters covering candidate as well as President.



When the 1956 election rolled around, Dwight Eisenhower was still on the mend from a heart attack. He did little campaigning, leaving that role to Vice President Richard Nixon. With the convalescing Ike making little news, reporters followed Nixon.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson passed up few chances to make news from the White House. But, his love of "pressing the flesh" propelled him

around the country despite polls showing he had no worries from Republican Barry Goldwater. Johnson won big with his part-time Rose Garden effort.

Nixon, in 1972, was too busy being President to take much note of Democrat George McGovern. Republican surrogates pounded McGovern while Nixon made a few token speeches before being re-elected in one of the biggest landslides in history.

Gerald Ford, a nonelected incumbent in 1976, violated the theory that Presidents leave the Rose Garden when they are behind. Down some 30 points in the polls to Carter before the campaign, Ford was convinced by his advisers to stay in the White House.

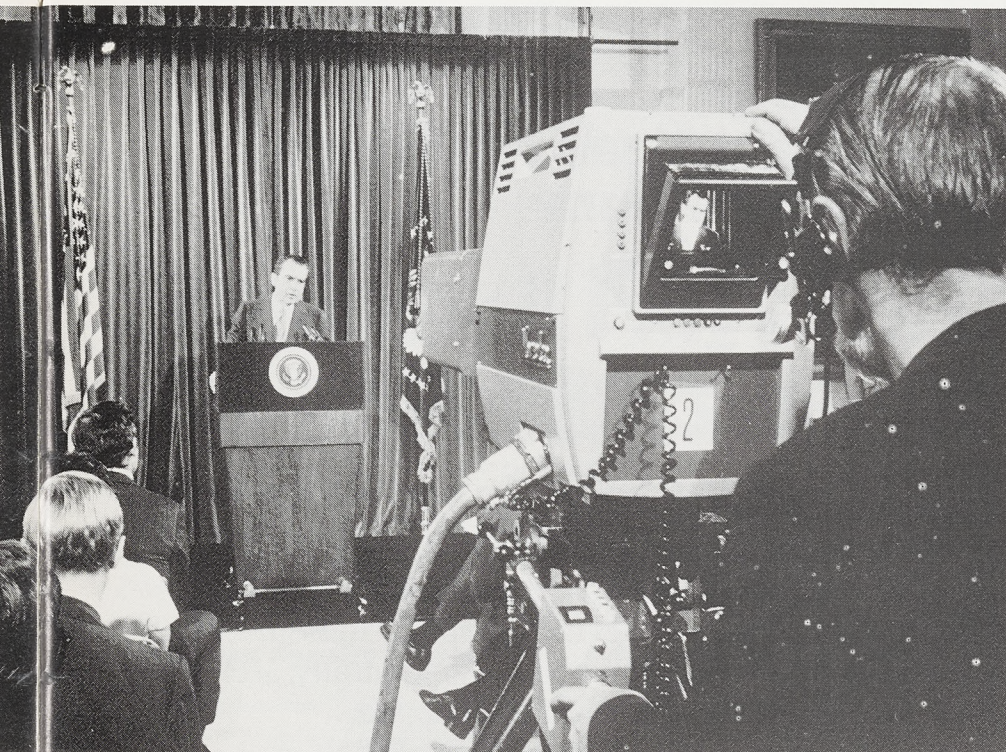
Save the chicken and peas. The Ford battle plan originated with Foster Channock, then a 23-year-old aide working for chief of staff Richard B. Cheney. Channock argued that Ford needed to act presidential—stay on the job and let his image makers fire away at Carter's negative points.

Ford, who somehow was fond of the cold-chicken-and-peas circuit, loved to campaign. He had to be convinced it was a liability this time out. Stuart K. Spencer, his campaign manager, put it to the President in blunt terms, and Ford reluctantly agreed. Though he debated Carter and crisscrossed the country in the closing days, Ford spent most of the campaign in the Rose Garden and watched as the once-lopsided polls evened. On Election Day, Carter won by less than 2 percent of the more than 80 million votes cast.

Come this spring, it was still up in the air whether Carter could make the Rose Garden strategy work this year. But nobody could dispute that, after the President began sticking close to home to work on Iran and Afghanistan, the polls turned around for him in the race against Senator Edward Kennedy.

Sitting Presidents have gotten the message: When in doubt, campaign at home, whether the press likes it or not. □

John W. Mashek, Political Editor of U.S. News & World Report, has covered every presidential campaign since 1960.



Richard Nixon at press conference during 1972 campaign. GOP candidate did little campaigning on the road, had big victory.



Johnson walks the press and his dogs during 1964 campaign. LBJ won by landslide with a lot of at-home politicking.

Truman, in "give 'em hell" campaign of 1948, used campaign train to blast Republicans. He shunned Rose Garden strategy, scoring upset.



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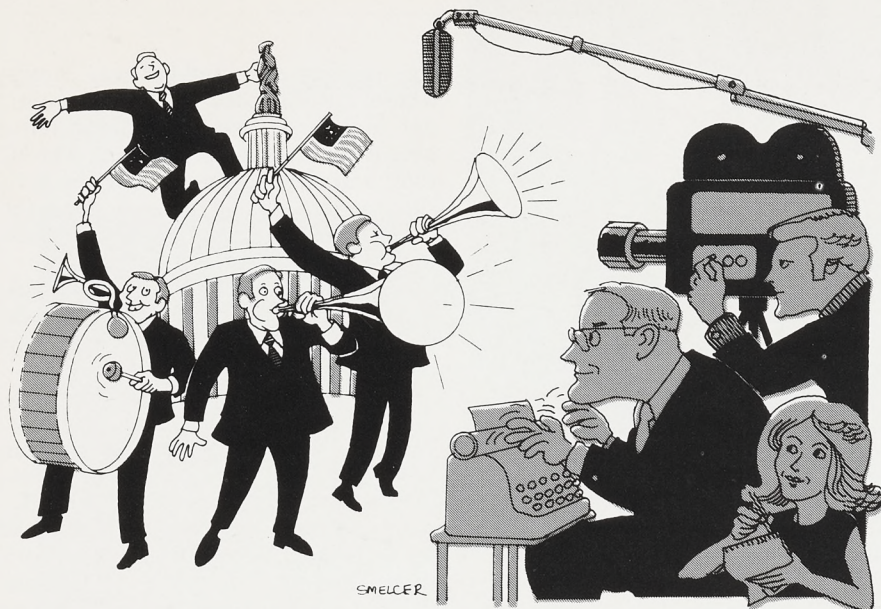
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Congress: It Plays Press Like an Old Bassoon

Capitol Hill swarms with legislators unashamedly adept at media manipulation through news releases, hearings, free snacks, phone calls to editors and press agency galore.

An election-year Congress is the spitting image of "McNamara's Band"—"the drums go bang and the cymbals clang and the horns they blaze away."

With some 500 lawmakers attempting to play the press like an old bassoon, the clamor is deafening.

Manipulation of the media goes on every year on Capitol Hill, of course, but never so flagrantly as when an election looms.

Then, congressional press secretaries work overtime, pounding out news releases well past sundown. Copying machines whirl through the night.

Each new day sets official telephone lines humming, with legislators eager to alert hometown editors and radio and television news directors to their latest triumphs.

A grant for a water project is trumpeted as vital for the future of America's environment, no matter that it might require the flooding of farmland. A new federal building is hailed as a testament to the importance of a lawmaker's home district—and a mark of his own prowess. Never mind that the old one may have been enlarged only 10 years ago.

One Republican House member rou-

tinely begins each day with an 8 a.m. phone call to the city editor of the largest daily newspaper in his district, then follows up with a call to the local television station. All through the day, the congressman's press secretary is on the telephone to media outlets back home.

"Sometimes I call down and it's a real shot in the dark," says the legislator, who insists on anonymity. "If I were a newsmen, I probably wouldn't use a lot of the stuff. But you'd be surprised. On a dull day it often pays off with a couple of paragraphs in a page 1 national story, quoting me on one thing or another. You can't buy that kind of exposure."

"Hungry for news." Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), tired of yawns from the Washington press corps, is another who now telephones news of his activities directly to home-state media. "Washington reporters may be universally uninterested in what the senator does," says an aide. "But in Wyoming it's a big deal, and we play it that way. They're hungry for news."

Adroit public relations can make even the most obscure freshman appear pivotal to the workings of democracy, a confidant of Presidents and an eagle among sparrows. The most insignificant committee slot can be made to seem crucial, and the laziest legislator transformed into a model of industry and efficiency. His own mother wouldn't recognize him.

Members scramble to affix their names to major bills so they can tell the

public that they helped write landmark legislation. Example: One of President Carter's major energy bills had picked up more than 100 cosponsors in the House by early this year.

Likewise, resolutions decrying excessive federal spending are a dime a dozen. They are dropped into the hopper almost every day, along with a fresh batch of proposals to dole out new federal money to an array of aggrieved special-interest groups.

Always popular, too, is the staging of "field hearings" in home states or districts on a topic close to voters' hearts. Two examples: Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), up for re-election this fall, chaired a subcommittee hearing on rural health in St. Johnsbury, Vt. Representative Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) took his Subcommittee on Employment to his home district in Los Angeles to listen to testimony on the unemployment problem.

Doing business—at home. Such hearings not only generate favorable publicity, but allow a lawmaker to campaign at home while appearing to tend to congressional business. And all the costs are paid by Uncle Sam.

"The idea is to keep it topical," confides one veteran press secretary. "You try to ride into the papers or television on the shoulders of an event—hold a hearing that provides the local media with a local angle to a national or international story. If you can't find a hook like this, forget it."

If a lawmaker is worried about the turnout for a news conference, the event may be made more seductive with food and liquor. Senator Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) has been known to treat the reporters at a press briefing to a feast of Alaska king crab, red and white wine and petits fours for dessert.

Journalists are becoming ever more alert to media maneuvers of lawmakers—forcing politicians to become ever more adept at subtle manipulation.

For example, Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), once a newsmen himself, sent out a news release reporting that each year 130 Californians die in fires caused by cigarettes dropped on bedding or upholstery. Not until the third paragraph was the real point of the statement revealed: To announce the introduction by Cranston of legislation requiring processors to make sure tobacco products extinguish themselves if left unattended for 5 minutes.

For many covering the Hill, the news release could be turned into a fair story requiring little work by a reporter. The angle was valid, and Cranston's connection not too obvious.

Not surprisingly, stories inspired by the fire-hazard release showed up in at



A lawmaker doesn't have to go far to find the press. Here, Senator John Tower (R-Tex.) briefs reporters in the Press Gallery, which is just off the Senate chamber.

least 50 newspapers, on both the Associated Press and United Press International wires and on television news programs throughout California.

"It's a situation where a member of Congress is using us, and we're using him," says a former Associated Press reporter who covered Capitol Hill. "You're looking for a story for California newspapers and, presto, here it comes over the transom. Sometimes the system up here is like a giant conveyor belt, serving up stories. All you have to do is pick out those that aren't obviously self-serving to a politician."

The extras. Congress is geared to the convenience of news people almost as much as to the convenience of legislators. Reporters assigned to the House and Senate have free working quarters in the Capitol, to which lawmakers' underlings deliver an endless stream of press releases.

Everything is gratis for these correspondents—from parking and telephones to typewriters and copy paper. If they miss something on the House or Senate floor, staffers paid by Congress are there to fill them in.

"It is very seductive," remarks one correspondent who retired after 30 years of covering Congress. "You're up there all day, every day, operating out of space provided by Congress. You ride in elevators set aside specially for the press and Congress. You eat in the same dining rooms, go to the same receptions, talk to the same people. Hell, after a while, you become a part of the system. It's like you're a member yourself. I think congressmen take maximum advantage of that feeling."

A legislator up for re-election has other, more obvious advantages over challengers. To begin with, the government pays the salary of a press secretary, often an ex-reporter who knows the tricks of the trade. The press secretary frequently has a couple of press assistants. In addition, members have a franking privilege that gives them almost carte blanche to mail out large volumes of materials about their official activities—newsletters, reports, position papers.

It's a handy way to communicate directly with the voters, avoiding any possibility of the media tampering with

the message in an unkind way. Newsletters are supposed to be a nonpolitical means of keeping constituents abreast of a legislator's doings. Yet almost without exception, their aim is to show voters what has been done for them lately that might warrant gratitude come Election Day.

Newsletter politicking is so blatant, in fact, that both chambers have made halfhearted attempts in recent years to control it.

The rules are noted for their flexibility. Senate regulations, for example, strive to restrict lawmakers to four photographs of themselves per newsletter. But Senator Donald Stewart (D-Ala.) and some others get around that by incorporating a fifth picture into their newsletter's logotype. The Senate Ethics Committee has ruled that to be permissible.

Newsletters are just the beginning. Among permanent fixtures on the congressional payroll are radio and TV recording technicians. These public employees offer their services to members at cut rates, thus sharply trimming the lawmakers' costs for staying in the public eye in their home districts.

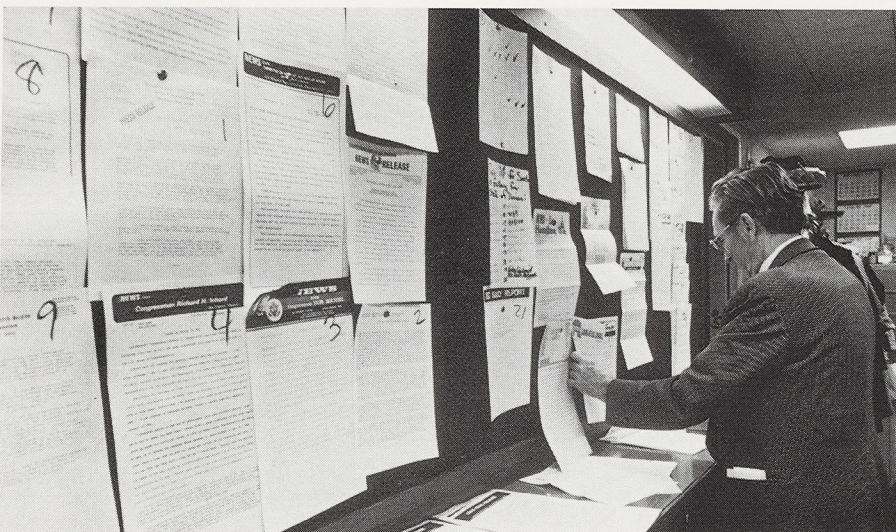
Words on demand. Both the House and Senate, what's more, now have sophisticated computer operations, which allow members to crank out reams of material tailored to the interests of voters.

For example, the names of people who write Representative David Stockman (R-Mich.) about the subject of school busing are systematically filed away. When the congressman has new thoughts on the subject, messages can be dispatched to voters likely to be most interested. By punching a few computer-keyboard buttons, Stockman and other lawmakers can mix and match prewritten paragraphs on a variety of subjects and send letters to constituents that appear personally written.

The Senate has carried this a step further. Senators are allowed to dip into office-expense accounts to purchase computerized mailing lists of registered voters in their home states.

In both chambers, there are rules prohibiting the partisan use of computers provided at taxpayer expense. But in the words of one Texas Democrat: "Up here, everything is political. You could spend a futile 50 years trying to draw a line between politics and public service. Besides, who's going to complain—another member? He's trying to get elected, too." □

This story is based on reporting by Jessie Stearns of Stearns News Service and William L. Chaze and Robert Barr of U.S. News & World Report.



Day after day, legislators bombard the Capitol's news galleries with press releases, which are posted and made available in quantity for the convenience of all.



We sort it out every week.

U.S. NEWS
& WORLD REPORT

Interview With Eric Sevareid

"Egomaniacs in Television, Smugness In the City Room"

For an assessment of changes sweeping through the media, *Dateline* turned to one of America's most respected commentators. The result: An incisive, no-holds-barred size-up that may surprise many.

Q Mr. Sevareid, as you look back over more than 40 years in journalism, would you say that the quality of political reporting has improved?

A Yes. At least most reporters now know what a key precinct is. The educational level of journalists is better, too, and there are some pretty good specialists in the business, even in broadcasting. When I first came to Washington, CBS Radio had only about three people, and they covered everything.

The reporting is helped by aids that we didn't have before—publications like *Congressional Quarterly*, the *National Journal* and others. In Washington now, you can lay hands on almost any kind of information by messenger or telephone.

Q Is there too much coverage of primaries?

A Yes. News abhors a vacuum, and the moment anything comes up that might have some significance, everybody descends on it. I've had this argument with my people at CBS for years. They keep telling me, "Well, yes, this year we will not send 5,700 people to New Hampshire and crawl all over the place." But we get sucked into it every time and do the same thing. We've got crews and people everywhere.

Q Is the press increasingly shaping the course of events in an election year, as opposed to merely reporting events?

A When you don't have powerful personalities and you don't have issues with a real cutting edge that people feel strongly about, maybe the effect of press coverage is enhanced. But I don't buy the notion that television has changed the substance of our politics greatly, strengthening the power of the President. I'm at the age where you measure backwards a lot. FDR didn't have any television, and he had enormous power. Carter has used television to the hilt and has often seemed to have little power.

I don't think that the medium is *the* message in the way that Marshall McLuhan seems to mean it. It's *a* message, one exaggerated in importance these days just because the other traditional messages that we used to get—from government leadership, from higher education, from the church—are so weak.

But television has changed the processes of politics. Political parties now are not much more than a handy scaffolding to hang elections on. You don't need grass-roots precincts and organizational support so much if you do well in the media. The media have become almost a substitute for political parties, and I don't think that's a good thing.

Q The press is criticized these days for focusing too much on the personalities in a campaign while failing to explain issues—

A That's a valid criticism. The focus on personalities happens when the issues become awfully complex, when the problems—Israel, the Arabs, inflation, SALT—never seem



to have a resolution. Very few people have a grasp of these matters, and so they fall back on personalities.

Q Is there too much "pack" journalism during campaigns—with reporters not thinking for themselves?

A Yes. And in a way it's inevitable with everyone following the same candidate day after day. Nonetheless, I think the good reporters are always looking for the exceptional story, the exclusive angle.

Q Often the reporter who covered the winning candidate's campaign is assigned to the White House. Does this give the reporter a vested interest in "his" or "her" man winning?

A That's a simple human danger that will always be there. But I'm not sure it remains a problem over a very long period of time. I remember when Ernie Lindley covered then-Governor Franklin Roosevelt in Albany for the *New York Herald-Tribune* and got quite close to him. Ernie was asked to come to Washington for the paper, and he said, "No, I'm sticking with this fellow because I think he's going to be in the White House." So both ended up down here. And for a time, at least, maybe Ernie had a little special edge in the White House, but I don't think it lasted.

When Dwight Eisenhower was elected after so many years of Democrats, a bunch of papers started to buy columns from Roscoe Drummond and others who had a lot of Republican connections. I don't think that lasted terribly long.

Walter Lippmann always used to say that you can't have a wall between you and the officeholder, but there has to be an air space there. You can't get too intimate; you've got to preserve a little distance.

Q What about political polls?

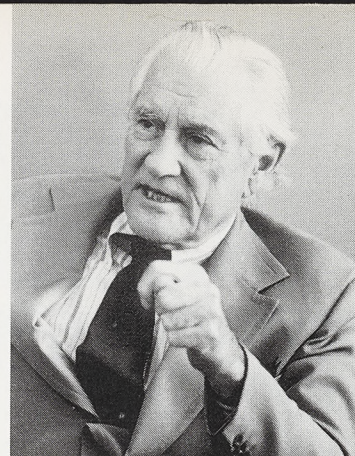
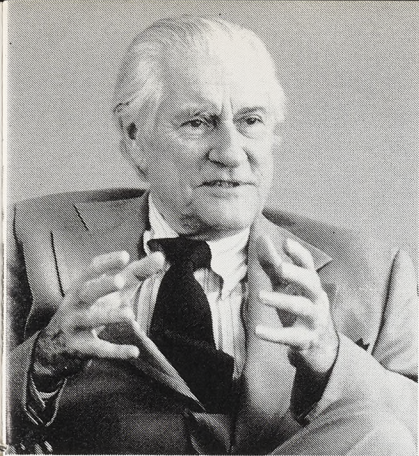
A They've become tiresome. I don't think people read these polls as much as print reporters or broadcasters think. The polls get to be meaningless; they can change overnight.

I don't think it's true, as some pollsters claim, that the polls don't really affect the outcome of elections. I think they can affect elections because they change the candidates' strategies. I covered the Dewey-Truman race in '48. I think the polls then were really more responsible than anything else for Thomas Dewey's defeat. Dewey concluded that the polls, which showed him ahead, were right. So he quit doing and saying anything different or daring. He didn't want to rock the boat. He wasn't going to risk any mistakes. Harry Truman thought he was way behind so he went hell-for-leather, and, by God, it worked!

Q Moving beyond political coverage: What are the most significant changes you have seen in the press during your career?

A There's a narcissism in the press today—both print and broadcast—that I don't remember as a young reporter. Journalists display a great deal of arrogance. There are egomaniacs in television, but there is even more inbred smugness in the average newspaper city room, especially at the successful newspapers. This leads to a hardness and toughness in treating the people written about.

Look at the way the press treated Nelson Rockefeller when he was nominated for Vice President. He had been in public life for 30 years and was a known quantity. But be-



"I once proposed, only half in jest, that we have news every other day in this country. Our nerve ends would rest a little more."

cause of some harsh stories at the time of his nomination, it took two months to get his confirmation through Congress. That's crazy. If somebody like George Marshall were coming up for nomination today, he'd have a hell of a time. You'd get all kinds of people going through his garbage.

There's an assumption of virtue on the press's part and of evil on the part of everybody in public office. I think it has gone much too far. It's as though the chief—and almost the only—function of journalism is the adversary one. That's one very important function, but it's certainly not the whole of it.

The narcissism also shows up in the million-dollar salaries paid to people in television. I don't like the idea of judging people by the dollar sign hanging around their necks, instead of on the basis of their talents and experience.

Q Is this narcissism the worst weakness of the press?

A No. I've always thought the worst inborn weakness of our business is haste. Most of my mistakes, I think, were made in haste or carelessness. I once proposed, only half in jest, that we have news every other day in this country. We'd all do a better job, and our nerve ends would rest a little more. But I never got any takers on that one.

Another weakness is that American journalists are still much too ignorant about comparative religions and other

languages. How many people come out of journalism school or colleges generally who know much about other religions and philosophies? I knew damn little.

Q What changes in the business would you like to see made?

A There is a lack of what I call accountability reporting. We've spent hundreds and hundreds of billions of federal dollars over the past 20 years for all manner of programs, but there has never been any accounting of this, even by Congress. For example, who knows what the Peace Corps has accomplished in terms of greater democracy or per capita income or peace in the various countries in which it operates? I've also never seen any real cost accounting of the War on Poverty of President Johnson's day. I think people are entitled to a better notion of how effectively their money was spent over all these years.

Q Are you suggesting that investigative reporters might do better by turning their attention to government programs?

A Yes.

Q Is the press really equipped for accountability journalism?

A Not alone. Congress would have to take the initiative in investigating programs by using its subpoena power. And then it would require an expanded General Accounting Office to work with the press.

Q You talked about making government more accountable. In your view, is the press adequately accountable to the public?

A No. It hates to admit mistakes. We are arrogant in that sense, so there is a lot of joy among people when the press falls on its face. Newspapers today don't criticize each other as robustly as they once did—in part because there are not many competitive newspapers. Broadcasting stations are more competitive than newspapers.

But there are some positive developments on this score, such as the establishment of ombudsmen at some newspapers. Television networks should probably have them, too.

The saving grace in all this is that the press is a self-correcting institution. Where the story is 75 percent right the first day, the next day it's probably going to be 90 percent right, and the third day it's going to be 99 percent right. In that sense, the press cures its errors, but it takes a little time.

That's why people have to follow the news closely. People have to earn their knowledge. They don't have a right to know, but they do have a right to find out.

Q Do reporters facing deadlines hype stories too much to make them sound fresher and more exciting than they are?

A Sure. I was working on the United Press night desk in Paris many years ago. All night long I would get messages on the telegraph: "Get a fresh angle on *this*. Get a fresh angle on *that*." Fresh angle—how the hell do you get a fresh angle in the middle of the night when everybody is asleep? So people would sit in the office and dream up something. I decided that this was not for me. I wouldn't last in that kind of work.

I don't know if hyping is any worse than it used to be. The situation may even be better.

Q Washington journalists have often been called inbred. Are reporters in the capital isolated from the public's interests?

Key Points Made by Severeid

TV and Politics

"I don't buy the notion that television has changed the substance of our politics greatly." But it "has changed the processes of politics."

Opinion Polls

They do "affect the outcome of elections ... because they change the candidates' strategies."

Changes in the Press

"There's a narcissism ... a great deal of arrogance ... an assumption of virtue on the press's part."

Accuracy in Reporting

"The worst inborn weakness of our business is haste."

Use of Unidentified Sources

"I think it's overdone. ... It's not always sufficient to simply say, 'I stand on my story.'"

Journalistic Ethics

"We're one of the most honest professions on earth."

Growth of Media Conglomerates

Soon "almost no papers will be home owned. How can this be good for a pluralistic society?"

A Is Washington isolated from the country and its feelings? Sure! Any headquarters town tends to be isolated from the mass of people. But feelings are not the same in northwestern Montana as in southeastern Florida. This country is a mosaic. I don't know where "the heart of America" is. I keep hearing various parts of the country claiming: "We're the real people."

What amuses me is the way the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* send reporters rather fresh out of the Columbia School of Journalism or some other institution to interview gas-station attendants and beauty-parlor operators in Peoria. The reporters treat the people as though they're some curious species in a zoo. But these people *are* America, although they may seem new and different to young journalists brought up in a sheltered environment.

Q Do you think that this attitude on the part of young reporters says something about the media's isolation from the broader American society?

A It says a lot about young journalists and how they're taught in certain colleges. Not only do they have the feeling these people in Peoria are weird specimens, but they are also hostile to business, especially big business. A lot of them, after all, are taught by people who are antibusiness, people who are afraid of the competitive life.

Don't misunderstand me. There are some splendid teachers. Teaching can be a noble profession. But let's face it: There are quite a few teachers who are doing it because they can't take the competitive, tough life. And they communicate their disdain to their students.

Q Could this "disdain" lead eventually to an ideological bias in the press?

A There's a certain amount of bias among young reporters. They tend to have a feeling that government regulators are somehow superior in virtue to the people who create the wealth—business people. Over all, I suppose there is a general tinge of bias in certain publications. For a time, I thought the *Washington Post* was pretty bad that way. If you read past page 1, you got into a morass of soft sociology. Their young reporters never told you what happened until you got to the 14th paragraph. They wrote impressionistic stuff. Today the *Post* is better in that respect.

But I'm not sure I know what bias is in every instance. Most of my mail over the years has come from people accusing me of prejudice, but generally they are simply disagreeing with the substance of my views. I rarely received letters from people who said that they agreed with me but that I was not fair to the other side. If you receive those kinds of letters, then you really have to stop to think about yourself very carefully.

Q What are your feelings about the increasing use of unattributed information in news stories?

A I think it's overdone. That used to be the prerogative of columnists and commentators. But now you see it all the time. It's not always sufficient for an editor or reporter to simply say, "I stand on my story." That's no answer. If he's seriously challenged on the accuracy of something, he has got to account for it in some way.

Q Would Watergate have been uncovered if Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein hadn't protected sources?

A Not as easily or quickly. But I don't think you can use unidentified sources for everything. I'm probably very ignorant on the business of Deep Throat, but I never quite believed such a person existed. I am skeptical because if he did exist, he would be the richest, best-selling author of all. But I see no sign of such a book in the offing.

Q What is your reaction to the recent trend toward growth in media conglomerates?

A I don't think this can be good, though I have a lot of friends who say these corporations improve certain papers. At the present rate of consolidation, in 25 years we're going to have maybe 20 big corporations owning every daily paper in the country. Almost no papers will be home owned. How can this be good for a pluralistic society?

It seems to me there are two contrary movements going on in the country: On top of the economic structure there is this process of consolidation; there are about 200 corporations today that control the same percentage of the manufacturing assets in the country as 1,000 controlled about 35

years ago. While that is going on in the economic end, there is fragmentation going on politically, socially and ethnically. What kind of country is this going to be 25 years from now? It is going to be very different.

Q Also, the media and the courts seem to be increasingly at odds—

A Yes. I never thought I'd see the day when the courts would sanction raiding a newspaper office, even though the paper was not connected with the case. That just cannot be constitutional, in my simple mind.

Some judges say that the press behaves irresponsibly in covering trials and thus needs to be brought under more-rigid control. But how many cases have there been where the behavior of the press resulted in serious miscarriages of justice, especially in terms of any innocent person going to jail? There have been damn few cases. That must tell you something.

As to honesty in the press, I think we're one of the most honest professions on earth. There are almost no cases of reporters or editors accepting money to suppress something or write it a certain way. The press has a far better record than lawyers and maybe even doctors.

Q One last question: Is journalism still an exciting profession for young people to pursue? What advice would you give them?

A It is a most fascinating business. There's no better way to spend a life. Certainly you're not going to die of boredom—though you may die of ulcers. I tell college kids, "Don't go into it unless you've got an absolute passion for it."

But my heart sinks when I look at the résumés of many of the youngsters who come to see me. They are in so-called communications courses, yet they haven't got anything to communicate, because they haven't studied anything of substance: They don't know any science or foreign languages or philosophy or economics. And they haven't any means of communicating, because their notion of writing is to language as finger painting is to art: They can't write grammatical sentences. They're not going to succeed. □



Though the networks vow, "This year we will not send 5,700 people to New Hampshire," we get sucked into it every time," says Seavareid.

HONORED



Newsweek, together with its distinguished editors, writers, photographers, designers and contributors, earned a record-breaking 44 awards for journalistic excellence in 1979—and more than 300 since we started counting in 1962. First by far among all magazines.

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environment that attracts some 18 million readers each week—along with Newsweek's distinctions of being, historically, the most quoted, the most color-filled and the most efficient newsweekly.

Which helps explain one more sign of recognition: for the past twelve years, Newsweek has also been the newsweekly with the most advertising pages.

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Political Money: The Story Goes Begging

Now on file is a detailed picture of the millions being pumped into campaigns. Yet reporters aren't stampeding to look at the record. Stewart Powell explains why.

Behind the buttons, bumper stickers and throbbing banks of telephones, beneath the frenzied schedules and inflated rhetoric lies the most overlooked ingredient in U.S. politics: Money.

Other than voting itself, no other facet of electioneering involves so many people in so many places. And no other element more directly shapes the character of campaigns.

Candidates for federal offices alone will spend an estimated 442 million dollars this year—making the business of politics as great a contributor to the economy as many Fortune 500 firms.

Yet newspapers, magazines and television networks generally don't spend much time investigating—or even reporting—where the “mother's milk of politics” comes from, where it goes and whether it affects the actions of people in public office.

Campaign coverage most often is restricted to “derby journalism”—who is ahead and who is behind in fund raising. “The stories are here,” says a staff member of the Federal Election Commission, “but the reporters are not.”

The reasons are many. For one thing, journalistic interest in campaign finances has fallen off sharply now that the law requires disclosure of receipts and expenditures. Since 1975, voluminous records have been filed at the FEC—2.4 million pages in all.

“Like most other things,” says Jerry Landauer, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, “when it's on the table, in the public record, it's not covered adequately.” Andrew Mollison, chief political writer for the *Cox Newspapers*, echoes the view: “When it's readily available, it's harder to make it sexy and harder to involve the conflict-of-interest element that is so successful in getting front pages.”

No more secrecy. No longer can reporters build national reputations with exposés on secret campaign financing. As campaign-financing specialist Herbert Alexander puts it: “The entrepreneurial days are gone. Disclosure has become institutionalized.”

The sheer volume of material available on campaign donations and outlays in itself discourages journalistic initiative. The FEC in 1980 alone expects to receive 50,000 financial statements, totaling 500,000 pages, from 10,000 candidates and political committees.

“With that much material,” says *Miami Herald* Washington reporter Pat Reardon, “to show anything newsworthy just takes a lot of time.”

Few national news organizations have the patience. The money side of politics is seen as an intimidating tangle of law and statistics. “The campaign law is still a mystery to many reporters and newspaper editors,” notes Warren Weaver, a reporter for the *New York Times* who specializes in campaign financial coverage.

Quips another Washington newsman: “Most reporters are baffled by their own checkbooks, so it's little wonder they shy away from those reports.”

As for reporters on the road, they find it impossible to stay abreast of a candidate's finances. “You can't stop and investigate,” says Dean Reynolds, assigned by United Press International to the Edward Kennedy campaign. “So you end up relying on campaign aides to find out how much is raised at any given fund-raiser.”

Television networks face an extra problem: Public-document stories rarely are rewarding for a visual medium.

“The interest just isn't there,” says Jim Polk, a correspondent for NBC who previously covered campaign financing for the *Washington Star*. “You can't compress the information.”

Many news executives concede that the money story is important, but they believe their own resources are better spent elsewhere. Only so many reporters, column inches and broadcast minutes can be devoted to political coverage. To pursue the financial angle takes too much effort for too little return—especially when an organization is stretched to the limit covering candidates hopscooting the nation.

Opposing views. Not everyone agrees that campaign finances are getting short shrift. Morris Dees, fund-raising director for Kennedy, argues that with the campaign-financing law and the disclosures it requires, “the press is wasting its time—campaign spending is monitored by the FEC.”

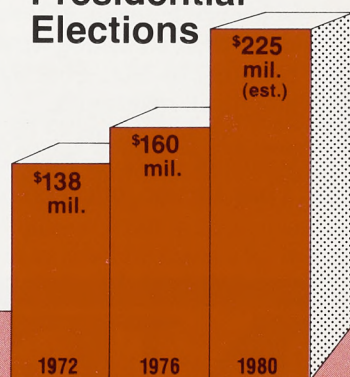
Some journalists, too, believe campaign coverage has matured to the point where the “front-page scandal-mongering” of old has rightly diminished. When financing warrants coverage it gets covered, in this view. Says one veteran: “The fact that there's not lots of coverage so far means there's not much news.”

For those who do regularly cover the money story, the rewards can be plentiful. Reporters occasionally uncover irregularities that can dog candidates through their careers, as Republican presidential hopeful George Bush learned in February.

Only days after victory in the Iowa caucuses, Bush was put in the position of having to deny once again alleged improprieties said to have occurred in

Big Bucks To Get Elected...

Spending on Presidential Elections



1970 when his Senate campaign in Texas received \$106,000 from an illegal Nixon White House slush fund.

More routinely, the press in 1980 has looked to fund-raising patterns for clues to the strength and character of a candidate's support. Such clues can be found, but caution is essential.

Early in the presidential race, Republican John Connally was rated a prime contender, in part because of his fund-raising acumen and big political war chest. His popularity among voters, however, had not been tested.

As it happened, Connally's drive for votes in the primaries flopped badly, and even his finances proved more shaky than was readily apparent. Within days of publicly reporting that it had raised nearly 10 million dollars, the Connally campaign found it necessary to borrow \$500,000 to pay for a televised fund-raising appeal. Connally then dropped out of the race on March 9. The episode underscored the need for deeper analysis when journalists report receipts and expenditures.

"Nobody that I know has really tried to interpret what's going on," laments one *New York Times* reporter. "They run figures without saying whether they are good, bad or indifferent."

Solo role. For the most part, campaign-finance coverage is lonely work that is conducted far from the limelight of the day's top story. Says one regular: "I'm one of the few reporters who lives over here at the FEC."

But it easily could be a full-time occupation for many more. At the start of 1980, the FEC had 135 million dollars in tax funds to dispense to presidential contenders, each of whom was eligible for matching funds of up to 7.4 million

dollars before the conventions. Then, each major party nominee will be given an additional 29.4 million dollars in public money to campaign for the November election.

Combined public and private spending on this year's White House race may exceed 200 million dollars, making selection of the first President of the decade the most expensive in history. Add to that the outlays in races for Congress and for 500,000 state and local offices, and Americans will shell out nearly 800 million dollars on elections in a single year.

Telephones and TV. Spending aside, changes in politics and political finances in the past decade have made campaign coverage more demanding for the news media in many ways.

Strategies for seeking the Presidency have shifted, putting new emphasis on making an early start and establishing political organizations in numerous states instead of concentrating on major population centers. The extended political season has created a series of new watersheds—all of which demand media attention.

Spending limits in primary states have put a premium on cost-effective campaigns, diverting money into activities such as television advertising and telephone banks and away from the colorful and journalistically enticing grass-roots activities of the past: Buttons, banners, leaflets and door-to-door canvassing.

What's more, public subsidies for presidential campaigns and ceilings on contributions have dispersed political power. No longer do party chieftains and a relatively small number of wealthy donors choose party nominees.

The result has been to make nomination fights a lot more volatile and predictions about the outcome a lot riskier. The press, just like the candidates, must scramble harder than ever to keep up as events unfold.

Of equal significance for journalists is the fast-growing influence of political-action committees. Qualified PAC's are allowed to contribute up to \$5,000 to a candidate—five times the \$1,000 maximum imposed on individual citizens.

In 1977 and 1978, committees representing business, labor and an array of other special interests donated 35 million dollars to candidates for Congress. *Congressional Quarterly* found that 176 House candidates received \$50,000 or more in PAC contributions for their 1978 campaigns. For some, such funds made up more than two thirds of their total receipts.

This year, PAC's number more than 2,000. Again, they are doling out millions to mold the Congress that will be gavelled to order next January. Yet reporters are only occasionally dipping into the thicket of PAC filings.

It is being left largely to advocacy groups such as Common Cause to investigate any connection between special-interest contributions and voting. Common Cause, a self-styled public-interest organization, recently reported, for example, that of the 50 leading House recipients of money from the American Medical Association's political committees, 48 sided with the AMA in opposing hospital-cost-containment legislation.

Merit or need? Political-action committees themselves are stepping up their use of FEC files. For one thing, they want to know how badly a candidate needs their money.

Will the press ever give the money story the attention that many observers think it deserves? There are some positive signs.

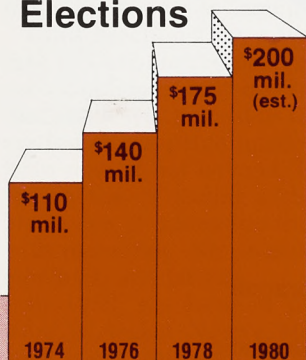
Some FEC officials report that the local press is showing increased interest in campaign-finance stories about the local congressional delegation or its challengers. Duplicates of reports to the FEC must be filed in each state.

Meanwhile, journalism students at the University of Missouri and at some other schools are being trained in the use of FEC materials. The next generation of reporters seems sure to be better prepared to keep tabs on the campaign-money game.

But for now, "the mother's milk of politics" remains a story that is largely untold. □

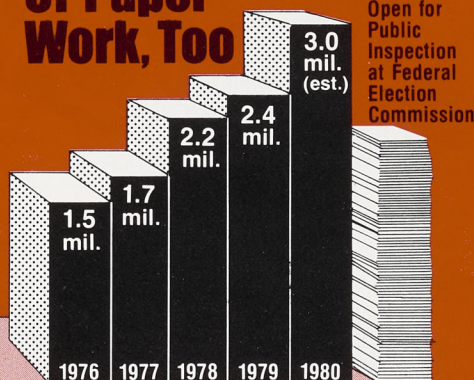
Stewart M. Powell is a member of a team at U.S. News & World Report covering the 1980 campaigns.

Spending on Congressional Elections



Note: Does not include spending by losers in primary elections.

...And Lots Of Paper Work, Too



Pages of Documents Open for Public Inspection at Federal Election Commission

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broadly based in communications
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Fortune	Woodward
Sports Illustrated	Temple Associates
Money	Lumbermen's Investment Corporation
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AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

On the Campaign Trail With America's Press

Months of highballing after the candidates nonstop takes a toll on the boys and girls on the bus, reports John S. Lang. Out of the tedium springs a potpourri of crazy pranks.

Waldo McPhee of KRAP-TV Action News abandons the candidate and sprints to the onlooker standing before the network cameras. Shoving his microphone under the subject's nose, he demands, "What do you think of the grain embargo?"

The response is a mere grunt.

"Don't you worry," Waldo persists, "about giving military aid to Pakistan?"

This time the reply is clear, loud and emphatic: "Oink!"

The place is Iowa. The time is shortly after dawn on a subfreezing day of an election year. The candidate, Senator Edward Kennedy, is earnestly listening to a farmer explain the mysteries of a corn-picking machine. And the stars of the national press corps are 100 yards away—interviewing a pig.

Why? Because a camera had panned from Kennedy, sweeping the surrounding farm and accidentally catching the pig in oblivious and indelicate disport with his amorous consort.

Staying sane. The "interview" is understandable only in the crazed context of covering a presidential candidate—20-hour days and sleepless nights, unidentifiable meals and harrowing flights, cross-country swings lasting so long that brief stopovers at home are known as "conjugal visits."

Until Election Day, a wacky subculture will exist in the press entourage of each candidate. Legends of the capers that result will be told to the next generation of campaign junkies four years from now, if not beyond. It is the customary way of dealing with the inevitable rushes of adrenalin, the long bouts with monotony, the mistakes, tension, loneliness and fatigue.

In 1980, the hero of the traveling tribe is Action News's McPhee, who goes about complaining in deep and pompous tones that the fast pace of the campaign "makes it difficult to pick up small boys."

The lament is not for real and neither is Waldo. He is the satirical perso-

na of Thomas Oliphant of the *Boston Globe*, who is a serious journalist despite his usual garb of tennis shoes and tweed knickers.

A reason for the character of Waldo can be seen in the true-life adventures of Oliphant and his colleagues. When Kennedy made his boomerang charge that the Shah of Iran ruled one of the most violent regimes in history and stole the treasures of his people, the reporters following him missed it. A punishing schedule had left them exhausted; most were sleeping or eating when Kennedy gave the interview to a San Francisco station. So they didn't learn about the remarks until the next wire-service p.m. cycle.

Oliphant believes that their failure to pick up the story immediately not only let down their news organizations but possibly hurt Kennedy's campaign. "If we had jumped on it," he says, "Kennedy might have gotten his act together quicker, realized the need to clarify. But he got caught for almost two news cycles with the White House and State beating him over the head. He never caught up to the story."

If Oliphant was stale, later in the guise of Waldo McPhee, he was not, lifting sour spirits on the campaign plane with a stand-up, reporting that Kennedy was "attacking an Islamic



BASSET FOR DATELINE

cancer patient who once sat in a chair named after a peacock."

In another scoop, Waldo disclosed that Kennedy was a "textual deviant," after the press corps reported, from advance copy, an attack on President Carter that the senator never made.

For all his shenanigans, Waldo reflects a touch of class snobbery in the tight little world of the campaign press, where print reporters snicker about broadcasters with baritone voices and falsetto thoughts, and both camps eye with wariness the more muscular TV technicians who trample all in their paths and so are known as "Visigoths."

These mostly friendly divisions date to the time when television first became dominant in political coverage, forcing candidates to tailor campaigns around "photo opportunities."

Time has fuzzed most of the grievances between print and broadcast reporters on the campaign trail. A more serious division at present is between those who follow a candidate day after day, dubbed "Little Feet" on the Kennedy plane, and the big-name journalists—labeled "Big Feet"—who view the candidate mostly from afar.

The terms stem from a nickname for the *New York Times's* Hedrick Smith, a wearer of extraordinarily large shoes who spent a day with Kennedy and

Journalistic Bird Dogs

“Political correspondents are like bird dogs. You keep them penned up, and for nine months they're useless. Don't do anything, just eat. Then, when the season comes around, for the first few weeks they're still worthless because they're so excited. They pee all over the truck. They jump on top of the cab. And they have a fine propensity for pointing at butterflies.”

—Jody Powell, 1979



Reporter Naughton, decked out as chicken, questions Ford during a 1976 news conference in Seattle.

wrote an analysis of the whole week. Members of the traveling press didn't fault Smith's judgment, but they were irked that he made it without spending the time to achieve their perspective.

One who stubbed his big foot early in this campaign was *Washington Star* columnist Jack Germond, who wrote that George Bush's campaign had peaked on the day he announced—some months before his victory in Iowa.

Despite that miscall, Germond is one of the most highly regarded reporters among veterans. Because his analyses may influence events as well as reflect them, and because of his forceful personality, Germond and pals are the arbiters of rules for reporters' comportment during campaigns—

- The Germond Rule: Split all dinner checks equally among reporters at the table. Corollary: Eat defensively—order from the top of the menu.

- The Weaver Rule—established by Warren Weaver of the *New York Times*: When several reporters hop a cab, the dullard next to the driver pays.

- The Blank Rule—named for a reporter who must go nameless: Anyone who brings this lout to the table picks up the tab for everybody.

- The Weaver-Germond Rule: Never have a martini until you can see the table at which you will have dinner.

This last and most important of all campaign credos helps explain the legendary ability of Germond—as bald and round and enduring as a bowling ball—to work all day and tinkle his peers beneath the bar that night.

Another reason for his stamina is that Germond is no Little Foot. For the most part, he avoids the grind of tagging after a candidate for days on end. That, he believes, saves him from mak-

ing most serious mistakes. "If you're traveling with the candidate, counting crowds and all that, you get a skewed view of what's going on in the world," he contends.

"I remember in '72, on the George McGovern campaign, guys flying around with him began to convince themselves that he had a chance to win. It's necessary to pull off, get into a state ahead of the candidate, stay for a while after he leaves, talk to the pols and the people about how he did. You can get a very different perspective."

The chance of losing touch with the realities of politics is conceded by those who spend their days at 36,000 feet with the candidates. They also acknowledge the risk of filing me-too copy that results from enforced close contact and from seeing the same things as others in a candidate's plane.

Eleanor Randolph of the *Los Angeles Times* remembers the time in 1976 when she and James McCartney of Knight-Ridder newspapers filed stories on Carter that were eerily alike. Up came Jody Powell. "Hmmm, pack journalism at work again," he gibed.

"I had no idea McCartney was doing that story; it was pure coincidence," says Randolph. "What happens is that pretty soon everybody deals with the same speech, the same political ploy. You don't pass your leads around, but you can't stop passing ideas. One thing *The Boys on the Bus* taught us is that we mustn't yell, 'What's the lead?' In that book, Tim Crouse highlighted a journalistic error, and everybody's been conscious of it ever since."

Identity crisis. A graver worry shared by the men and women on the bus is that of developing a vested interest in the success of a candidate. "If you're not careful," notes *Newsweek's* Tom DeFrank, "you can get into a posture where suddenly it becomes very important that your candidate does well. Why? Because if he does well and is getting lots of coverage, there's a tendency to feel that your own worth has gone up within your organization. If the candidate is going nowhere, there may be the feeling that your career is going nowhere with him."

Many news organizations give the White House beat to the reporter who covered the winner, figuring he will have access to the best contacts.

"It's a real problem," says columnist

Richard Reeves. "I don't know how anybody can say we don't have a tremendous identity with the candidates. Last election I had a book on the conventions coming out. On the day before the voting, my publishers told me that stores were ordering on the basis of 50 copies if Carter won, 15 if Ford won. I hadn't known this before, but on the night of the election guess who I was rooting for?"

Another case Reeves laughs about is the contract that James Wooten, then of the *New York Times* and now of ABC-TV, had to write a book on Carter's 1976 campaign. "If Carter had lost," says Reeves, "Wooten would have been the world's leading expert on a peanut warehouseman, which obviously has no value at all."

Reeves agrees, however, with Wooten's rebuttal: "You could never get Jody Powell or Jimmy Carter to suggest even on their darkest days that my stories were ever pro-Carter. I think both would suggest my stories were slanted anti-Carter. I insist they were neither. The danger of identifying with the candidate is there. It's inherent, but I don't know of a single example of deliberate distortion."

Fairness check. Peer pressure, while it may result in "pack journalism," also acts as a check on slanted reporting. The traveling press contends that anyone who tried to help a campaign—by ignoring flaws or writing only favorable copy—couldn't do it subtly. Everybody would see it happening and credibility would be lost.

The accepted way to express personal views of a candidate is through the inside jokes that the public rarely hears. During John Connally's non-stop, 40-hour stumping of Iowa just before the caucuses, reporters on his bus felt battered. One demanded of Connally's press aide whether "the governor believed in the forced busing of journalists to achieve election." Another described his plight: "The Iowa Crisis. The 30th Hour. Journalist Held Captive. Demands to See the Rev. William Sloane Coffin at Once."

The degree to which feelings are vented depends greatly on the tolerance of the candidate. Kennedy encouraged the remarkably zany behavior of his own following.

One day in Waterloo, the Secret Service contacted its Kennedy detail and directed that the rowdiness of the reporters be stopped. Kennedy spoke over his plane's intercom: "I don't mind when I'm attacked. And my family can take it. But I draw the line when they come after my press corps." That night the agents were startled when reporters filed into an event

wearing funny hats and carrying stuffed chimpanzees and bears.

During a stopover in Phoenix, the senator's aides gave the press noise-makers, and when Kennedy left the podium he was greeted by a kazoolike rendering of "Hail to the Chief." He laughed uproariously.

By contrast, in 1976 a campaign-song parody that reporters attempted faded into awkward silence when Carter looked coldly around and said, "You guys sing about as well as you write."

Chicken Man. About the same time, due to the sufferance of Gerald Ford, "The Great Chicken War" was about to erupt. At a San Diego rally, Ford noticed the KGB radio station's Chicken Man and crowed, "The chicken, I love it." At his next press conference, he answered the questions of a chicken-headed reporter, James Naughton, then of the *New York Times*, who had bought the costume for \$100.

It all came a cropper in Cleveland. A youth in the employ of persons unknown tried to unloose a cage of chickens in the room of UPI's Dick Growald, who, thinking he had caught a burglar, chased the kid down the hall with kicks in the pants. Meanwhile, Naughton was smuggling the rooster he had found in his room into the quarters of Ford spokesman William Greener.

So it went through the night, the rooster becoming feistier as he was shunted about the hotel. No one was madder than the big hotel detective behind the Pepsi machine, who kept popping out to demand, "Do you belong to that chicken?"

The classic campaign prank involved the services of Ford himself. Its victim,

"I Don't Want Anybody to Know the Cost"

The cost of covering presidential campaigns has doubled in the last four years, pushing the bill for traveling with a candidate as high as \$5,000 a week.

Though news budgets are generally considered private matters, executives of the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* have disclosed that each newspaper plans to spend about \$500,000 on the 1980 campaigns. Each of the three television networks has set aside more than 30 million dollars.

So high is the expense that some political editors are reluctant to let their front offices know the true tab. "It's horrendous," says one Washington bureau chief. "I figure what I'll need and throw it into the overall budget. We don't produce much revenue. No Washington bureau

does. I don't want anybody to know the cost."

For reporters traveling with a candidate, the customary bill for a seat on the campaign plane is 150 percent of the first-class commercial fare. Aides to Senator Edward Kennedy hiked that to 225 percent—causing some organizations to threaten to pull reporters off. The Kennedy people didn't budge.

Most news executives have learned to live with the increased costs, if not to like them. Many are even increasing coverage.

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, which previously had only one or two reporters on the road, has as many as five out this year.

"This is probably one of the most important elections in the lifetime of most citizens," explains publisher G. Duncan Bauman.

Newsweek's DeFrank, calls it "a plot put together by Jim Naughton with the help of the President of the United States." As DeFrank describes it, "The genesis is that I went to Texas A&M. So it was decided to celebrate my agricultural heritage with a date with an appropriate co-ed."

The plainer version is that when DeFrank went to his hotel room one night in Peoria, Ill., he found a gastrically embarrassed sheep—and a dozen colleagues and presidential aides hiding in every possible cranny. Next morning,

DeFrank was greeted with a presidential query: "How's your friend?"

Most of these capers reflect little more than the need to relieve stress by those involved in what are, after all, serious matters. But now and then a giggle grows from recognizing some of the absurdities that rise from campaign journalism.

Newsweek's veteran political correspondent John J. Lindsay long complained about the difficulty of doing serious interviews when people turn away from the reporter whenever they think they'll get their faces on camera. To prove his point, while covering the Robert Kennedy campaign in 1968, Lindsay borrowed a set of earphones, stuck a chocolate cupcake on a pencil and began interviewing people as they arrived at an event.

"I'm Trevor Cardboard of the BBC; please speak into the cupcake," Lindsay said. And, to the astonishment of his colleagues, people did. Just once did a man say, "Why, that's a cupcake." To which Lindsay replied, "Yes, we have found through long surveys that if people think they can bite the microphone, or even eat it, they are more responsive." The man then patiently answered all questions.

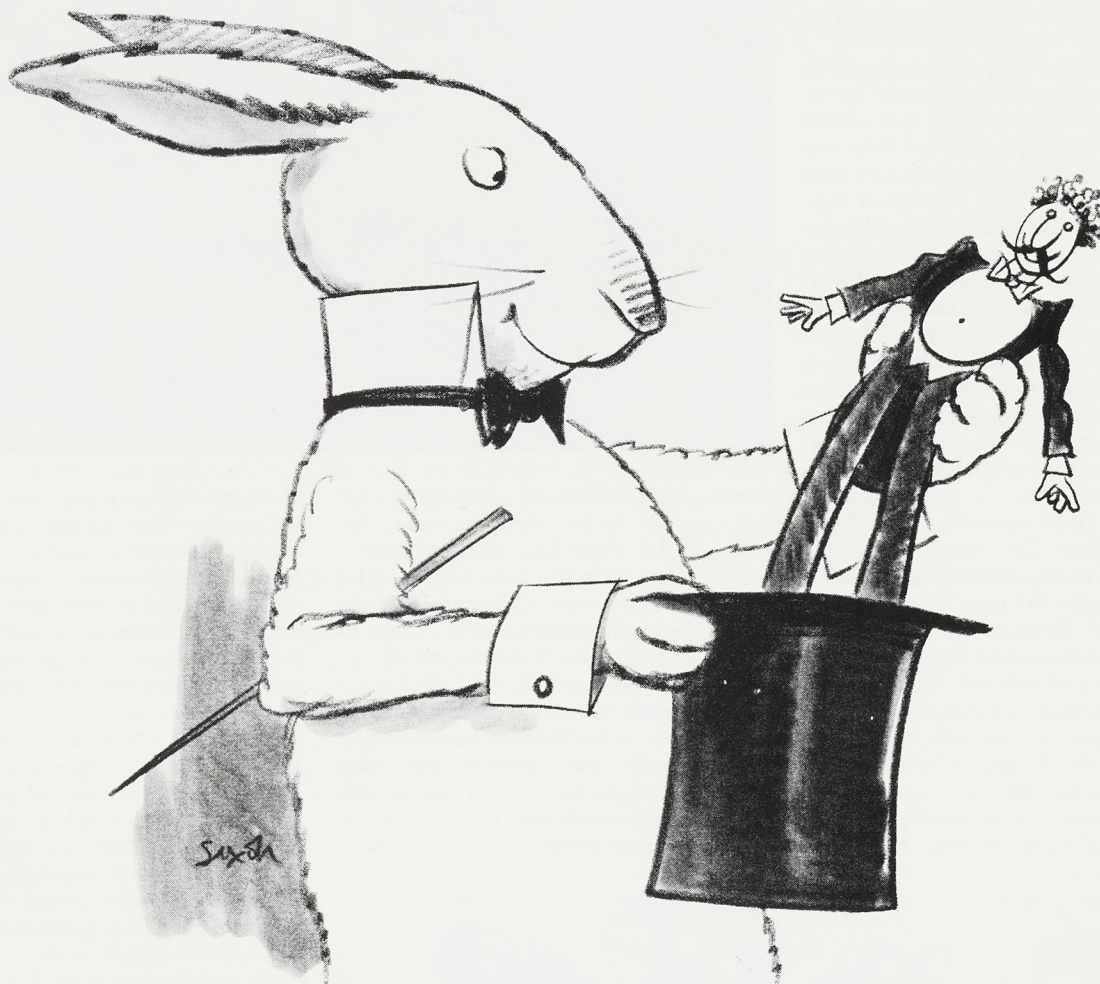
Today, Lindsay is philosophical about his experiment. "It gave me," he says wryly, "a peculiar insight into our business." □

John S. Lang is a White House correspondent for U.S. News & World Report and a journeyman rider of press buses.



The Peoria sheep incident. Tom DeFrank, the prank victim, is at right. Flanking him, from front right, are perpetrators Fred Barnes, John Mashek, Walt Rogers and, in raincoat, an unidentified innocent bystander. At left in back is James Naughton.

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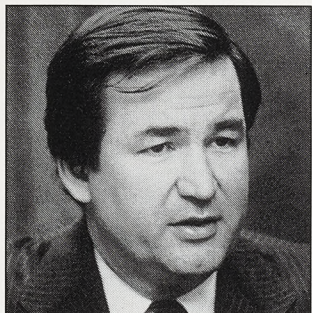
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Two Views

Is the Press Biased?

"There is a liberal bias in the national press, including the networks"



**Interview With
Pat Buchanan**

Columnist,
Chicago Tribune-
New York News Syndicate

Q Mr. Buchanan, is there an ideological bias in the press?

A Yes. There is a liberal bias in the national press, including the networks, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*.

It is not a liberal conspiracy. It's just that talented liberals go into journalism. They want to be on the cutting edge of change, and they see the press as a place to fulfill this aim.

Q Why don't more conservatives go into journalism to try to offset any bias?

A Most intelligent and capable young conservatives prefer to go into business instead of becoming reporters. They see this as a fundamentally good society, and they want to carve out their own place in it.

Q If the press has a liberal bias, how do you explain the critical coverage that Senator Edward Kennedy got this year and the tough treatment accorded Senator George McGovern when he sought the Presidency in 1972?

A What we saw with Ted Kennedy was the press reacting to the criticism it received in the past for being tougher on conservatives than liberals. Reporters went overboard to demonstrate that they could give Kennedy the same rigorous treatment they routinely give to conservative Republicans.

As for Senator McGovern, early in his campaign he had an excellent press. He was depicted as a miracle worker, a man who came from nowhere, who was spokesman for the young, the poor and the black. After the press built him up, it then focused the spotlight on the positions he had taken—and people suddenly found these positions almost incredible.

Next, McGovern tried to make a crablike move toward the center, but he made one blunder after another—each covered by the press.

Q If McGovern's blunders were well covered, doesn't this undermine your argument about liberal bias?

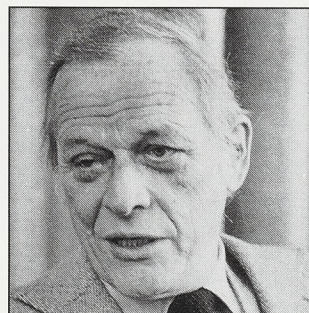
A No. When McGovern lost, the press said that the country had not rejected what he stood for, but had only turned thumbs down on him personally.

In that way the national press protected its liberal point of view. It said the reason liberalism was rejected had nothing to do with the issues, but was due only to McGovern's stumbling.

Q Other than political reporting, can you point to instances of bias in domestic coverage?

A Yes. The antinuclear movement gets extraordinary attention and publicity from the national press. I saw demonstrators who went over the fence at the nuclear plant being built in Seabrook, N.H., described as "bearded, denim-clad

"If anything, the press has a conservative bias . . . columnists in particular"



**Interview With
Tom Braden**

Columnist,
Los Angeles Times
Syndicate

Q Mr. Braden, does the press display a liberal bias?

A No. If anything, the press has a conservative bias. Many journalists today are upper-middle class and worry about such things as their tax shelters. The press has come a long way from the days when an H. L. Mencken was working for 18 bucks a week.

Columnists, in particular, have a very conservative slant today. Conservative columnists outnumber liberals by a wide margin. About the only liberal columnist who appears frequently in the Washington papers these days is Carl Rowan. The growth in the number of conservative columnists reflects a reaction within the press to criticism that it is too liberal.

After the stink raised by Spiro Agnew some years back—don't forget that Agnew's attack on the press was ghostwritten by Pat Buchanan—many papers went out and got themselves new conservative writers, such as Pat Buchanan. This has led to a tremendous imbalance on opinion pages.

Q Columnists and editors aside, what about charges that most reporters display a liberal bias?

A I don't think that's true. They may be more liberal than the higher-ups in the business because they see poverty and injustice that the guys who sit behind a desk don't see. But that doesn't make them wrong. They tell their readers what their readers ought to know and often cannot see for themselves.

Q If the press doesn't tilt toward liberalism, why do so many conservatives believe that such bias exists?

A Conservatives are offended at being presented with new facts and new ideas. They read things in the press that shake them, and they end up thinking the press is left wing because it carries a message they don't like.

Look at the Tennessee Valley Authority. Many conservatives view it as a socialist experiment started by Franklin Roosevelt. They think it ought to be abolished. When they read that TVA is an enormous success, they blame the "liberal" press that was the source of the information. The press reports facts, and often enough the facts don't fit the conservative ideology.

Conservatives are also disturbed because the press is more balanced than it used to be, even though it still leans toward the conservative. I can remember when the *Los Angeles Times* was so far to the right that it reported in a lead sentence: "The Eisenhower administration took a sharp turn toward socialism yesterday." Eisenhower had come out for an increase in Social Security benefits. You don't see that kind of stuff today.

Q Much of the criticism of liberal bias is aimed at the Wash-

Interview With Mr. Buchanan (continued)

agents of change." The coverage of such protesters has been indulgent and tolerant.

I also think you'll find the Washington press—especially female correspondents—sympathetic to the feminist movement and supportive of the equal-rights amendment, whereas their coverage of the anti-abortion movement ranges from straight and cold to hostile.

Q Do you perceive bias in foreign coverage?

A I could cite numerous examples. When South African journalist Donald Woods fled his country, he received tremendous press coverage and was presented as a great moral hero. But when an American named Frank Emmick returned to the U.S. after 14 years of suffering in a Cuban prison, he was largely ignored by the national press.

Look at the way Dan Rather, Barbara Walters, Ben Bradlee, Sally Quinn and other icons of the American media went to Cuba to see Fidel Castro and then produced all this flattering copy about his revolution. These same people wouldn't think of going to Chile to visit with General Pinochet and writing about his revolution. It is obvious that Castro gets better press than General Pinochet.

Q Does opinion and commentary in the national press follow the same pattern you see in news coverage?

A No. The *Washington Post* editorial page seems more conservative than it used to be. Since the *New York Times* started its Op-Ed page a decade ago, it has been making a greater effort to insure that other voices are heard. Among the younger columnists today, conservatives dominate. So conservatives have no major complaints, by and large, about editorial pages and Op-Ed pages. Our grievances are against news coverage, not commentary.

Q Does the press outside of Washington display as much bias as reporters in the capital, in your view?

A No. The closer the press is to the people, the less bias you tend to find.

The smaller newspapers display less bias because they are more in tune with the public they serve—and the people's views are definitely not liberal.

Q Are you saying that the Washington press corps is out of touch with the people?

A Definitely. Washington reporters interact with each other. They go after Jody Powell day in and day out on the same issues. They are simply not representative of the country, and they are an extraordinarily predictable lot.

I remember when I used to prepare Richard Nixon's briefing books for press conferences. We predicted the questions he would be asked with between 85 percent and 100 percent accuracy. Sometimes we hit every single question. But when we went out to a town-hall-type meeting, we would get maybe 40 percent right. This shows the public at large has different matters on its mind than Washington reporters.

Q The press seems more critical of government than it used to be. Does this show a shift away from liberalism?

A Yes. A slow change is under way. When the country moved toward the left, the national press corps was out in front. Now, when the country is moving toward the right, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the networks are bringing up the rear. □

Interview With Mr. Braden (continued)

ington press corps. Do you think that it is more liberal than the press as a whole?

A Perhaps, but only because its members are more sophisticated and less insular than the press elsewhere. Reporters in the hinterlands are more conservative than Washington reporters because they don't know as much about what is going on.

Q Does media ownership by large corporations and wealthy individuals move the press in a conservative direction?

A I suppose it does. I don't believe most publishers dictate to reporters. Most publishers are fair-minded people. But many of them are quite conservative, and their staffs are aware of that. They know who is buttering their bread. Their knowledge affects their actions.

Q If the press is more conservative than liberal, how do you explain a widespread feeling that reporters tend to be tougher on conservative politicians than on liberals?

A That is an erroneous belief. The press is not soft on liberals. Look at what the press did to George McGovern in 1972. He is really a pretty conservative guy, though an idealist. The press turned him into a wild-eyed radical.

And look at the rough coverage Ted Kennedy got. Reporters seemed to feel that in order to show their own manhood they had to be as nasty to Kennedy as they could be. Compare the treatment of Kennedy with the treatment given the conservative Ronald Reagan. Ronald Reagan is not only making ridiculous suggestions, such as calling for a blockade of Cuba; he is also ringing all the old changes—the stale jokes about bureaucracy and welfare. You'd think the country was one big welfare fraud.

But how many reporters have really scrutinized Reagan? How many have looked up those anecdotes to see whether they are factual? Why is Reagan treated by so much of the press as a serious, thoughtful figure when he is, in fact, a retired gentleman, healthy for his years but still unread?

Q Are there other things you can point to that illustrate a conservative bias?

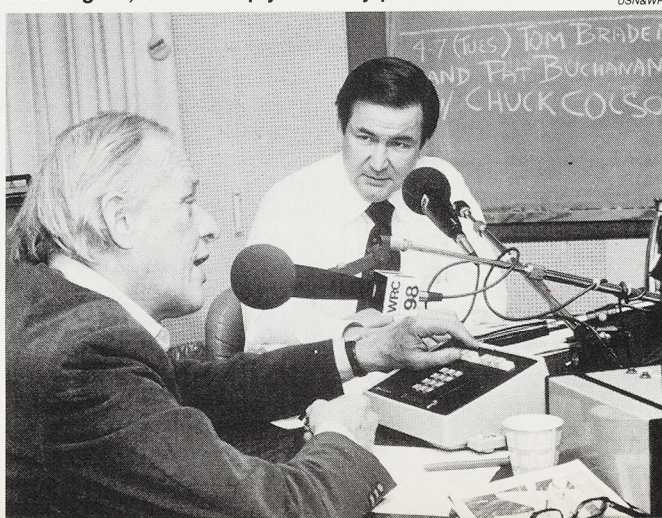
A Consider the way the press is covering foreign affairs. Most of the press is on a war footing. It is for a bigger military budget. It is for the MX, the restoration of the B-1 bomber, the discard of arms-control agreements. There is much more hostility toward the Soviet Union than there is national discussion of how to deal with our problems in the Soviet Union's back yard.


I see very little questioning in the press of the hastily formed consensus that the nation must increase the military budget by 5 percent, by 10 percent, by 14 percent. I see no discussion whatever as to where and for what this money should go.

Q Those who say the press has a liberal bias point to a tendency to romanticize leftist regimes while coming down hard on right-wing governments—

A I suppose there is some of that. People did get a little mushy over Fidel Castro. But I think that was not ideological, but rather reflected the excitement of getting a chance to interview Castro. A reporter thinks: "Look, I've got something really hot. I'm going to interview a communist dictator!" A conservative dictator like a Somoza in Nicaragua could be interviewed anytime. □

Braden and Buchanan, cohosts of a talk show on WRC radio in Washington, differ sharply on many political issues.





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TV's 90-Million-Dollar Political Roadshow

For the networks, covering a White House race is a maddening struggle with technology—and a running battle of wits with contenders. So reports William L. Chaze.

Many months before the major presidential candidates declared their intentions, the nation's three commercial-television began work on the 1980 race.

Producers in charge of political coverage got started in the early summer of 1979 by roughing out a few tentative ideas about how the campaign might be handled. At ABC, Political Director Hal Bruno drew up a battle plan and tacked it to the wall next to his typewriter.

By the time the election is over next November, these small beginnings will have ballooned into a massive undertaking involving the efforts of more than a thousand people and outlays of nearly 90 million dollars. That's a third of the networks' total news budgets this year.

Along the way, ABC, NBC and CBS will broadcast hundreds of spot-news and analysis pieces as well as live coverage of primary results, the national convention extravaganzas and returns on Election Night. Even on slow news days, the spectacle will draw an audience of at least 60 million.

Though some critics challenge the

fairness and adequacy of television's political reporting, this much no one can dispute: Its delivery to living rooms across the land is a daily triumph of technology and human enterprise.

A 90-second spot on a network's nightly newscast sometimes is conceived days or even weeks before it goes on the air. But as the campaign warms up, such stories become rarer. Spots increasingly must be taped and shown on the same day to keep up with fast-breaking developments.

Coverage becomes a constant scramble, eased only slightly by improved equipment—lightweight, electronic "minicameras" and videotape, which, unlike film, does not require hours of processing in a laboratory.

Another day—At each network, planning for the next news program begins as soon as the closing credits have moved across the screen for the night's show. Editors and producers decide what they could use in the way of a story for the next day, and calls are placed to producers in the field.

By the following noon, the field producers will have conferred several more times with their New York bosses, who by then will have digested the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal* and overnight wire copy. The correspondents who will appear on camera contribute their thoughts.

Competition for air time is fierce. The decision to prepare a piece may be made only an hour or two before the



TV team on the campaign trail. It's like "a troop movement," says a news veteran.

anchorman sinks into his swivel chair to begin his broadcast.

Throughout the campaign, each network has several teams of correspondents, field producers, camera operators, sound technicians and tape editors trailing candidates around the country. Each team is loaded down with several hundred pounds of equipment—cameras, lights, battery packs, microphones, recorders, electronic editing gear and thousands of feet of tape. The cost is high: Not counting travel expenses, the networks shell out \$3,000 a day for each four-person crew in the field.

"When you're out there with a candidate, you're like a top sergeant in the Army," says a veteran CBS correspondent. "It's not like a newspaperman with his pencil. With us, it is a troop movement, even if you're just going around the block."

Back at headquarters, editors not only move crews around the country like chess pieces, they have to worry whether correspondents will be able to file their stories once they are ready.

The easiest reports to handle are those taped at or near a place where the network has already arranged with the telephone company for a video-line hookup. In most states holding primaries, this is done long before the arrival of a TV crew so that tape can be transmitted quickly to New York. But, after the primaries, when the campaign becomes less predictable, advance arrangements often are impossible.

ABC-TV's deputy bureau chief in Washington, Bob Murphy, illustrates

Come Election Night, each network pools its human and electronic resources for a non-stop extravaganza of prediction and analysis—most of it broadcast live.



with a hypothetical case: A candidate makes an unscheduled stop in the wilds of Wyoming and says something important enough to be on that night's newscast. The candidate won't reach his eventual destination of Minneapolis, where a feed could be arranged easily, until it is too late to use that night.

"You're hundreds of miles from anywhere with tape that we need," says Murphy. "It would take hours, maybe days, for the phone company to help, so the producer has to drop off the campaign and charter a plane to a place where he can feed. Meanwhile, the correspondent flies on to the next stop where he does a voice feed to New York.

"Even as the show goes on the air, editors are marrying the tape with the voice-over. I wouldn't characterize the action as frenzied—that would imply a lack of control—but it moves along pretty rapidly and takes a tremendous amount of coordination."

On some campaign swings—those in which a contender can be expected to stick to his schedule—networks set up editing points along the way and staff them with platoons of technicians. The finished story, ready for the air, is sometimes beamed to New York by satellite—at a minimum cost of \$1,000.

"One hell of a job." In this large cast, the field producer may have the toughest role of all. He serves as an extra editorial hand, chasing facts and arranging interviews, and he also handles the details of getting film to New York. "It's one hell of a job," says an NBC producer. "You've got to know everything from the home-telephone number of the Democratic chairman in New Hampshire to which airlines fly out of Paducah, Ky., and which satellites might be overhead at a certain time."

After all the frantic rushing to get the story to New York, it often is discarded, a casualty of hotter news from elsewhere. But the footage that does get on almost always has one common aspect—powerful visual appeal.

Television believes it must have pictures that grab a viewer's attention and hold it. Many in the industry candidly acknowledge that photogenic events—such as a candidate being booed by a group of hecklers—often have a way of crowding out less-pictorial but perhaps more-significant developments.

"We just can't handle issues the way a newspaper can," says Richard Kaplan, a former CBS producer assigned to Jimmy Carter's campaign in 1976. "A writer can go into all kinds of detail to explain things. We have to have something on that film—and you've got 90 seconds to tell it."

As an example, Kaplan cites Carter's

For Public TV, a Cashless Campaign

Unlike commercial networks, public television is following a no-frills plan for 1980 campaign coverage.

Public-TV stations across the country are having to make do with 1.5 million dollars in federal funds, plus whatever they can scrape together on their own.

"We're talking about a very small amount of money," says a spokesman for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which disburses the federal funds. "A decision was made not to spend millions to duplicate the coverage of commercial networks."

There will be no live broadcasts from the conventions. And only occasionally does a team from public TV go on the road with a candidate.

Most local stations are doing

next to nothing in the way of campaign coverage. "We have no lack of ideas," says News Director Linda Winslow of WETA-TV in Washington. "But nobody has money. The federal money is peanuts—not enough to make a dent."

The federal funds, which stations may match with grants from private sources, will pay for a dozen special programs at most.

As a result, political coverage seen nationwide on public television is coming largely from two regularly scheduled interview programs—the "MacNeil-Lehrer Report," broadcast five nights a week, and the weekly "Bill Moyers' Journal." Generally, both delve more deeply into issues than do the commercial TV networks.

campaign suggestion in 1976 that the term of the Federal Reserve Board chairman run concurrently with that of the President. Carter seemed to be proposing a politicizing of the Fed, yet, says Kaplan, "we never reported that. We couldn't figure a way to do it on television. What do you show, people sitting around a table?"

But Bill Headline, assistant Washington-bureau chief for CBS, insists the networks are becoming more willing to handle news that is downright dull. Ascertains Headline: "If a story is important, the sheer difficulty of illustrating it won't keep it off the air. If all we have is a newsman telling what happened and what it means, that's good enough for us."

Calling the tune. Television must also cope with another problem—events staged by candidates just to get a few seconds on the evening news.

"The candidates will find it harder to get on this year," says ABC's Bruno. "We want to avoid stuff like someone going to a factory and shaking hands at the shift change—visually interesting, but devoid of substance."

The candidates are equally determined to outwit the networks because "they gain a certain credibility by being included in Walter Cronkite's news," says Sanford Socolow, executive producer of the CBS Evening News.

Campaign staffers toss in their beds at night trying to come up with ways to get their candidate on the evening news. Says Tom Griscom, press secretary for

Senator Howard Baker's short-lived White House campaign: "Everyone wants 30 seconds of national exposure. The point is to come up with something different. The question we kept asking was, 'What can we do to get onto those evening time slots.'"

Rare is the candidate who hasn't learned how to time events to coincide with the television-news cycle. Examples abound. During the Iowa caucuses, three Democratic campaigners discovered that a joint appearance in Waterloo would happen too late for the evening news. Solution: The event was staged earlier and seen by millions.

Candidates also have learned to trip up one another by using the clock. The White House has been known to delay its response to political criticism until 5:30 p.m.—only an hour before the network newscasts and too late for the gathering of reaction to what Carter spokesmen are saying.

Still, says Pete Teeley, aide to Republican presidential contender George Bush, "it is very, very tough to get on the air. It is the one place large numbers of voters can see a candidate, and it is the most important way for a candidate to establish himself." In Teeley's view, it is the candidate who is at the mercy of the networks, not the other way around. □

William L. Chaze, a former Washington correspondent for the Associated Press, now handles a variety of assignments for U.S. News & World Report.

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News Relations

TV Review

Tube Turns Primaries Into Soap Opera

Pity the viewer who looks for insights into what candidates really have to offer. This story goes mostly untold, says P. J. Bednarski, TV critic from mid-America.

To the winner in the quadrennial race for the White House goes a truly awesome prize—the power, among other things, to plunge the entire planet into war.

Yet from the way television covers presidential campaigns, one might almost think there was nothing more at stake than ego gratification for a half-dozen, stump-weary politicians reaching for the brass ring.

Television is obsessed with who is ahead and who is behind—it makes for such infectious drama! But the networks are either unwilling or incapable of giving us any real idea of what a candidate might do with power once he got it.

The more presidential candidates there are, the harder it seems for the networks to describe them. TV is usually content to hang simplistic labels on the contenders—tags that are fixed early and sometimes permanently.

For as long as Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) was a candidate, I don't ever recall hearing anything about him other than that he was from Tennessee and that his campaign was disorganized.

Where did Baker—or Bob Dole, or John Connally, or any of the early casualties—stand on the vital issues? What really made them tick?

Television told us precious little. What it did give us was a nightly carni-

val of candidates saying one sentence—a cartoon version of political reality.

And it gave us and continues to give us countless reports about tactics and strategy. It tells viewers about the predictable pranks on the press plane and the even more predictable faux pas of the candidates (Muskie cries! Reagan slights Poles, Italians and ducks!).

What's more, the networks have their own language for reporting primary results that differ from the scenario ABC, NBC or CBS had anticipated. They talk of "stunning" victories and "crushing" defeats. But who was stunned or crushed? The candidates or the networks?

Television is the medium best able to shape, sharpen and define images, and it seems bent on giving each political character a part to play.

"**Rich Man, Poor Man.**" Teddy Kennedy's candidacy has been cited by some as 1980's best example of a presidential contender raised to worshipful levels by the media, only to be all but vanquished by his creators after he finally announced. That puts it too simply, of course. Kennedy made more than his share of mistakes. Yet television seemed eager to make the Kennedy race into a remake of "Rich Man, Poor Man." It would have done so if Kennedy were a purely fictional character rather than a real person from a semifictional family.

Many of these complaints about television's presidential coverage can also be made about newspapers and magazines. But because its role in shaping images is so dominant, television political reporting is especially unsatisfying.

Before we've digested a candidate's



Kennedy was raised to worshipful levels, then all but vanquished, says TV critic.

agenda for the country, we begin getting reports on his itinerary. Reporters tell us how much time a politician has spent in a state campaigning. Whether the time spent is six days or six weeks, what the candidate has been saying is usually whittled down to one, usually impassioned, statement on the nightly network news—if that much.

Presidential years are the only times in which it is almost fortunate to have a crisis pop up. A crisis forces politicians to say something about it, and the crisis-reaction film clip is one of the rare times when we see the fellow saying something that was not written for him by a media consultant.

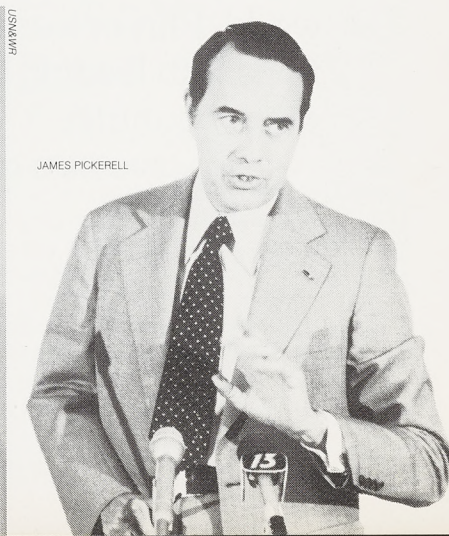
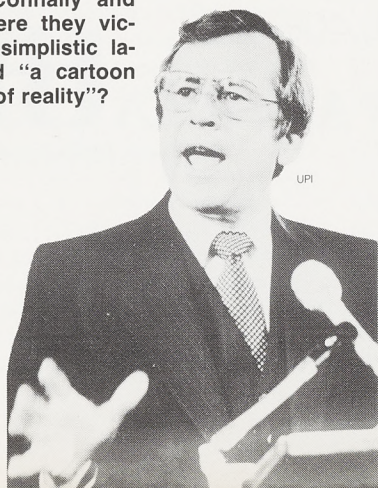
Through the rest of 1980, we'll see and hear a nightly television drumfire about momentum, or must-win primaries or surprisingly strong showings.

When primary results are reported, wouldn't it be nice if the networks carved out just a little time to tell us what it is Reagan stands for that so many people are voting for, or what Ford stands for that made him think for a time that he was an alternative?

As far as I can see, this is never or rarely done. Before he faded out of the race for the Republican nomination, Senator Dole (R-Kans.) begged report-

Three Campaign Dropouts

Baker, Connally and Dole. Were they victims of simplistic labels and "a cartoon version of reality"?





JAMES PICKERELL

Television News Kings Have Their Say

Does television tell viewers too little about what candidates really stand for, while saturating the airwaves with reports on the horse-race aspect of campaigns? *Dateline* confronted some of the top figures in TV news with that question. Their answers follow.

ers to start covering what he was saying rather than debating how much longer he could afford to say it before dropping out.

In many instances, a candidate who is constantly being characterized as a hopeless also-ran is doomed to be one. Network reporting and television's wide viewership, coupled with ceaseless polls, not only reflect the political climate, but help create it.

Yet, as if they were ashamed of it, television journalists do a relatively bad job of reporting the role of TV in political campaigns. Obviously it's important, and television never fails to note that one candidate is advertising more than others. But there hasn't been anything near an equivalent of Joe McGinniss's book *The Selling of the President, 1968*, presented on network TV.

Advertising's role. Television advertising can shape a politician's image as much as news coverage. Television needs to give viewers a look at the media specialists—how they design their campaigns and the end results. In all types of advertising, it must be remembered that the sponsor paid for it, so in a real way it is an extension of his character or his lack of it.

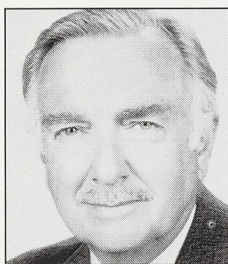
But, more important, TV should be telling us more about the candidate and less about his chances at the polls; more about how he would govern than how he will fare in New Hampshire or Florida or Illinois or New York.

Give us results and tell us what they mean in the race, but somewhere along the line tell us what the candidate means for all of us.

If all a candidate means is to get elected, then we ought to learn that—and the sooner the better. Otherwise, all those "surprising victories" might turn into "crises of confidence" soon after the winner settles into the Oval Office. □

P. J. Bednarski is television critic for the Journal Herald of Dayton, Ohio.

Networks Don't Shrink From "Dull" Issues



Walter Cronkite
Managing Editor,
Anchorman, "CBS
Evening News"

Anyone who has spent much time watching television news in recent years knows we're uninterested in presenting a cartoon view of politics. Given the time we have, we do at least as well at presenting the issues—examining them—as newspapers and magazines.

Four years ago, for instance, we initiated a series on the "Evening News" in which we examined each candidate on the issues. We spent a lot of money polling voters to find out which issues they were interested in, then focused on those. We've done it again this year, and so have the other networks.

One problem with covering the issues every day is that, once a candidate has made a statement, it often doesn't change very much. When it does, we report it. There's no need to go over a candidate's views every day. Newspapers don't do that, and neither will we. It would be a waste of time and space.

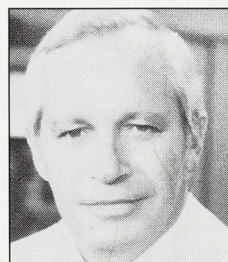
We've also covered several candidate forums at which issues were discussed. If they were saying anything new, we'd still be covering them. We don't shrink from issues because they are "dull."

We hear criticism that we spend too much time covering the foibles of candidates and their tactics. We'd be delinquent if we didn't report those things. Part of the primary-election process, it seems to me, is to test the candidates' stamina and see how they perform under pressure and close scrutiny.

Neither have we neglected coverage of television's role in a campaign. This

year, we've used several pieces about the television commercials candidates are airing and how they attempt to manipulate the medium—their scheduling of events, that sort of thing.

"You Have to Report What's Going On"



Frank Reynolds
Coanchor of
ABC's "World
News Tonight"

In primary campaigns, you generally have more style than substance. Sadly, that may be the nature of the beast.

But a review of what we've done would show that we have satisfactorily explained each major candidate's position on the big issues.

In this campaign, we have that terrible phrase "big mo," meaning momentum, and the candidates have spent almost as much time talking about it as the issues. What do you do? You have to report this because it is what's going on.

You have to look to the candidates themselves to set the tone of a campaign. If issues predominate, then that's what you report. But if it is a slip about lust in a candidate's heart, or the ethnic purity of neighborhoods, then you report that.

This is a visual medium, no doubt about it. But this year, more than ever before, we have the technical capability for making even the dull stuff—some may say the issues are that—interesting with graphics and other gizmos. So we don't flinch from carrying things that may not appear terribly exciting at first glance.

I believe, too, that we're doing a fair job of reporting how television is used in a campaign. We have used many pieces showing how a candidate's television spots can alter his image to coincide with the latest shift in his strategy.

About our supposed failure to tell the public how a candidate would govern: That would be a large presumption for us to make. It would be far better suited to the editorial pages of a newspaper than to television news.

(continued on next page)

"I Don't Know Any Way We Can Do a Better Job"



David Brinkley
Commentator,
"NBC Nightly
News"

The argument that TV does not deal with issues is a tired and boring refrain that is hardly worth talking about.

If there is any way to get the candidates to talk about the issues, I don't know what it is. Campaigns are based on not discussing issues—because the more issues a candidate discusses in detail, the more voters he will lose.

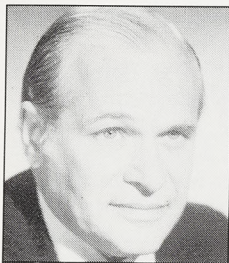
I suspect that, at times, we do give more coverage of the campaigns than most people really want. But those who are interested—and there are many political junkies—lap it up.

Coverage is better than it used to be. We put more skilled people into it as well as more money and effort. We poll people after they have voted and ask why they cast their ballot as they did. As a result, we have a better understanding of the outcome. For example, in Illinois, we learned that Anderson got votes mainly from independents and Democrats. Five elections ago, we would not have known that.

NBC has backed off on the number of people it sends into the field to cover primaries. Either John Chancellor or myself now stays in New York on the night of a primary, along with our election set and the Ph.D.'s with computers.

I don't know any way we can do a better job. We have been getting projections out fairly fast, and they have been accurate. We have been getting the candidates on the air fast. We have been getting the votes in fast.

Viewers Shouldn't Depend On "Any Single Source"



William Small
President of
NBC News

People get a good flavor of the campaign from the press as a whole. But they cannot learn what is happening from any single source. They have to watch television and read magazines

and newspapers to find out what the candidates have to say.

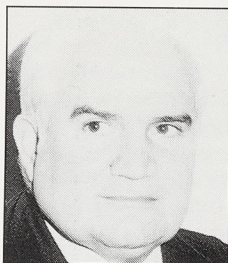
There is no merit to criticism that television goes in for a soap-opera-like presentation of the race for the Presidency. If we wanted to go in for soap opera, there is no shortage of fires, divorces and shootings that we could cover.

The race for the Presidency is a terribly important story that is treated seriously by the networks. Nobody looks at it as some kind of game or funny television series.

And to say the networks don't cover the issues is an old and worn-out cliché. All three networks have done long takeouts on the issues.

As for the criticism that there is too much focus on the horse-race element of campaigns, that is said again and again of the press generally. But the single most important element in reporting a race is indicating who is going to win.

Candidate's Style Is "Sometimes Decisive"



William Leonard
President of
CBS News

It's not a matter of whether we cover the horse-race aspect of a campaign or the issues. The overriding question is: Do we strike a proper balance? If we overextend ourselves in trying to project the personality of a candidate, that might come at the expense of the issues.

If we just dig into issues, then we might be avoiding the realities of the campaign in which the personalities, character and style of a candidate are sometimes decisive.

The answer is we have to cover the personality and character, the issues and the horse race.

For all the attention television devotes to campaigns, the end result has not been appreciably larger participation by the public in the political process. That's a great disappointment to me.

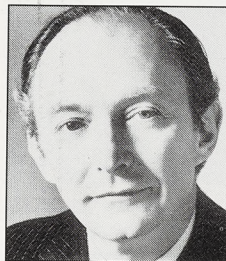
You would think that the more people knew, the more they would be involved in the process. But I have a theory that a little more knowledge may make people aware of how subtle and complicated the political process is and how complicated issues are.

It may result in more people throw-

ing up their hands and saying: "Oh, the hell with it! It's too complicated. I will just walk away from it."

Maybe that's the price we pay for putting so large a menu in front of people. But our job is to do it and hope that it helps.

"Networks Do as Well As the Print Media"



Richard Wald
Senior Vice
President of
ABC News

I'm not too sure that the issues indicate what kind of person a candidate might be if elected to the Presidency.

When you saw Barry Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson in 1964, the issues appeared to divide them greatly, but the resulting Presidency seemed to indicate that their views were not that divergent after all—at least not in foreign policy.

And the issues on which the present Carter administration campaigned have not necessarily been translated into reality.

Nonetheless, it is necessary to deal with the issues in some large degree—and we do.

The networks do about as well in their daily coverage as the print media. The one thing we don't do is take the perspective of hindsight by summing up what the week has brought and trying to put it into main themes or patterns. We may do that once in a while, but not regularly.

It might be a good service if the networks did summarize in the way a weekly newsmagazine does. One reason we don't is the lack of time in regular news shows. Another reason is that we would run into problems with the equal-time provisions of the law.

There are three competing networks and, therefore, three stories on the same subject. We aren't deliberately promoting or overinflating political stories. Now that the newspaper business has organized itself into semimonopolies, people forget what it is like to have two different newspapers reporting the same story.

Politics has changed so much that the primaries have become the determiners of what happens at the party conventions. This is bringing about a gradual shift in emphasis from convention coverage to more-sophisticated reporting in the primaries. □

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Whose First Amendment?

The First Amendment Congress in Philadelphia last week will be rated a success only if there is some follow-through particularly at the Second for Williamsburg March 17-19.

Unfortunately, as our editorial pointed out, journalists do not give much space or time to "coverings" and the nation's news columns cannot meet head-on by news from Iran and the demand for available space and the Congress report that did.

The only Congress report that did (mainly because an advance text was Gallup survey on public attitudes to although there were many only it).

Exploiting the press

On Dec. 1, we commented that a "by-product of the tragedy being enacted in Iran is the manipulation and exploitation of our broadcast media by the leaders of that controlled society." There is endorsement, by some major newspapers who satisfaction, by some major newspapers who our position following the recent NBC hostage in Teheran.

The three television networks were changed by the stipulations in its count the Iranis. Executives of that network provided to the American audience with the hostage was worth the five agenda it was forced to broadcast on the deal.

Special-interest bill

The Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution has approved an administration-sponsored bill that would prevent unannounced police searches for information held by persons engaged in some form of communication to the public. The bill is designed to counter the effects of the Supreme Court decision in the *Stanford Daily* case.

It sounds good, but it isn't. It is special-interest and newspaper trade and editorial association to continue their opposition to it.

The bill would prevent surprise by journalists, authors, as other persons who dissemination to the public, magazines, broadcast, etc. It should be some legislation. The *Stanford Daily* decision.

Guilty of trespassing?

The conviction of nine reporters for trespassing at the construction site of a nuclear power plant in Oklahoma last June indicates an anti-press bias on the part of the district court judge who heard the case without a jury.

What else can one conclude when the same judge dismissed the same charges against 300 anti-nuclear demonstrators who had invaded the power company's property? The reporters merely had accompanied the demonstrators rather than view the proceedings from an area "assigned" to them a half-mile from the construction site.

Any one of the demonstrators could have exercised (perhaps some of them did) their First Amendment right to report the event for publication or broadcast. Could the judge have forbade any one of them the right to do so? No!

Then with what justification can he punish anyone else for doing so just because he or she wore the label "reporter?"

Another assault by the courts

When the Supreme Court of the United States refused to free the *Albuquerque (N.M.) Journal* from revealing the confidential news sources to a man who is suing libel it opened another sluice gate for a

had granted permission to the plaintiff to newspaper all sources of information for published about him, even those not alleged highest court said, in effect, there is

Bureaucratic power

The decision of the Federal Communications Commission (four to three) saying that RKO Communications Commission hold broadcast licenses for its television stations in Boston, New York and Los Angeles is a prime example of the abuse of raw bureaucratic power. It threatens the renewal of 13 other broadcast licenses held by that company when they come up for renewal. It is an arbitrary fine of approximately \$400 million (the supposed value of properties) for alleged misconduct by government agencies years ago. It is an innocent complaint of service. It ignores the challenges who went to one of those licenses and stuck

years in the courts. This experience serving the public that the public has been an arbitrary bureaucratic broadcast license is safe.

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FROM THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

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In a time of rising international tensions, the foreign correspondent's job has been getting tougher by the day. From Pretoria to Moscow, the work is often dangerous, sometimes amusing--and always diverting. As of early April--

Perhaps the biggest frustration was Afghanistan. Correspondents were being forced to cover it from neighboring Pakistan after being booted out by Kabul's Soviet puppets. Reporters scrambled to pick up tidbits from refugees or self-styled spokesmen for Afghan rebels, who often lacked accurate information. Said AP correspondent Marcus Eliason, now in Paris: "The only reliable sources for a reporter in that chaotic and agonized land were his own eyes and ears."

Danger was ever present during the time outside correspondents were tolerated. Since it might well have proved fatal to be taken for a Russian, Western reporters spoke English as loudly as possible while in the streets.

Iran remained another sore spot. Expelled by the Teheran government, U.S. journalists scratched for news by monitoring the country's official radio and reading what news agencies of other countries turned up.

Those few in Teheran found it no picnic. For one thing, no two government officials could be counted on to give the same version of any development affecting the American hostages. Even getting a straight answer about an official's whereabouts was a minor triumph. Reporters staking out Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh's office, for example, might be told at 9 a.m. that he is nowhere to be found. A short time later, he walks out of his office, ready to talk. For those who took his spokesman at his word, tough luck.

Just getting a television piece on the air could be an exercise in international diplomacy. If they didn't like a story, Iranian technicians feeding it to the outside world might suddenly pull the plug as a patriotic act. Whenever that happened, frantic correspondents had to cajole the technicians into cooperating.

"There was never such a thing as a typical day while I was in Iran covering the hostage crisis," says NBC's George Lewis. "Every day had its own unique twists, turns and surprises."

Throughout the Middle East, correspondents face obstacles and danger, especially when Lebanon is home base. Government officials there view journalists with suspicion and mistrust--in sharp contrast to the respect accorded them by ordinary people.

(over)

Says F. Jerry King, who reports from Beirut for ABC: "In Lebanon, where dozens of armies and militias hold sway over specific areas, gunmen manning highway or city checkpoints literally bow and scrape at the very sight of a windshield 'press' sign."

But on the other hand, when tensions are high, troops in the field--especially those on the losing side--tend to regard pads, pencils, tape recorders and microphones as the tools of a spy.

Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Libya make it as hard as possible for journalists to obtain entry visas. Average wait: Two months. Once a reporter manages to get inside, Arab officials rarely consent to an interview. Yet despite their lack of cooperation, Arabs bitterly complain about any "bad press" they receive.

Work starts early and ends late for foreign reporters in Peking. With news liable to break at any time, correspondents, mostly running one-person bureaus set up in apartments or hotel rooms, seldom knock off work before 11 p.m. Then it's up early the next morning to glean Chinese newspapers for news, with a translator's help.

Since the Chinese political process is closed to outsiders, newspapers and the official Xinhua News Agency are major conduits of information about the country for foreign reporters. Embassies provide some news tips.

"It is difficult to plan the day," says UPI correspondent Robert Crabbe. "Events can erupt with a speed that bombs out the best-planned futures book. The Chinese Foreign Ministry has been known to announce news conferences on important events on less than 30 minutes' notice."

Moscow is a perennial hardship post--and not because of the frigid winters. Gene Pell of NBC puts it this way: "Western journalists accredited to Moscow face nothing but obstruction or worse from the Soviet authorities. Sometimes harassment or outright threats are added for good measure." When TV reporters have a story about dissidents to get out of the country, for instance, they can forget about satellite transmissions. The Soviets won't provide facilities when something is judged to be "politically sensitive."

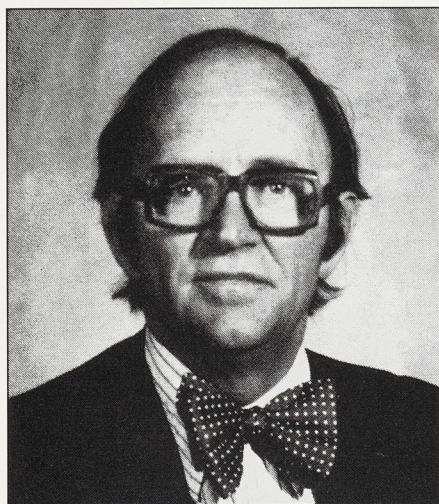
For reporters covering South Africa and Zimbabwe, there is a premium on ingenuity. Before the elections that turned Rhodesia into Zimbabwe, the Associated Press at one point used carrier pigeons to relay copy from the bush to Salisbury. The pigeons turned out to be highly reliable. South Africa presents another problem: Press controls. Correspondents evading censorship risk losing their credentials, says "Business Week's" Jonathan Kapstein.

More and more Latin American countries are imposing new visa requirements in an apparent attempt to keep out correspondents whose writing is unfriendly. Among the latest to do so: Nicaragua, which used to require only a passport.

"U.S. News & World Report's" Carl Migdail says that throughout Latin America, reporters have found that whenever they file by Telex, a copy quickly finds its way into the hands of officials. Result: Reporters often telephone dispatches instead, bribing switchboard operators to put their calls through.

Visitors From Afar: How Others Size Up U.S. Elections

Americans have used a variety of terms to describe the race for the White House, calling it everything from a "circus" to "quadrennial lunacy." How does this tumult—and the role of the press in it—look to U.S.-based foreign journalists, who must unravel the mysteries of the American system for readers overseas? Below are the impressions of correspondents from Britain, West Germany and Japan.



Stephen Barber worked 17 years in the U.S. as correspondent, and then as Washington bureau chief for London's *Daily Telegraph*. This was one of the last pieces he wrote before a stroke that led to his death March 30. He was 58.

Briton: Voting Is "Opiate of People"

Just as one should never come between man and wife, or intrude upon private grief, as a foreign correspondent who has watched, fascinated, half a dozen American presidential elections, I hope I know better than to criticize a process that is, after all, peculiar to this particular democracy.

I believe it to be a system that suits the people of the United States. It might not work well elsewhere. They have tried it in the Philippines—and I am reminded of an observation made to me by John Osborne (of the *New Republic*, then of *Time*) over breakfast in Manila in 1954. He said: "As an Ameri-

can in this place, I rather feel as if I had wandered into a hall of distorting mirrors."

Persons raised in parliamentary democracies are generally agreed that U.S. elections go on far too long. We get ours over with in a matter of weeks—and at far less cost. But America is a much bigger country. And in recent years it has become conventional to assert that it revels in its cultural, ethnic and racial diversity—whatever happened to the melting pot?—so naturally it takes more time to give everyone a hearing.

The big snag, of course, from the viewpoint of foreigners who do business with the U.S., whether as friends and allies or as competitors and adversaries, is that there is only about 1 year in 4 in which an American administration is not being buffeted by polls or otherwise distracted from decision making.

In a way, maybe it's just as well—better no decisions than bad ones.

I personally have never believed that voting for X rather than Y will cure inflation, unemployment, get the Russians to behave or my hair to grow, for that matter. But elections are nice for Americans, because for most of every leap year they can dream about how splendid things will be when their particular hero wins.

Religion, said Lenin, is the opiate of the people. He never came to America. He would have discovered that in the U.S. it is elections that give the people solace, which is doubtless why they indulge in them so continually.

A new President has barely got his eye in, so to speak, before he must be thinking about the impact of his ac-



tions on midterm congressional balloting. He only enjoys relative freedom of action in the off year after that, although recent experience shows that politicking for the big quadrennial event starts earlier and earlier.

So maybe a point has been reached where the man in the White House has perforce to pin his hopes on being able to achieve something big and historic solely in his second term.

And, dare I mention it, it has been 20 years since anyone was permitted by events to complete a second term. One has to wonder if it would have made a difference if he had. Was there really a Camelot? Is it true, as one romantic colleague of mine asserted at the time, that John Kennedy reigned over a new Versailles beside the Potomac? Who knows? But then, why knock it?

The President is "king." The big difference, of course, between America and other democracies is that America is an elective monarchy. The head of state serves a rather brief, fixed term, to be sure, but while in office, he is king. He cannot be tossed out like a mere prime minister if his party loses favor. This leads to a certain rigidity, which may be a serious disadvantage in times of accelerating change, social, economic or whatever.

As Louis Heren of the *Times* of Lon-

don remarked—to the irritation of American friends—the U.S. form of government is curiously antique and creaky in its workings, especially for a nation that prides itself on its youth, dynamism and vigor. I tend to agree.

Heren attributed this to the fact that the Founding Fathers lived in an age when parliaments, where they existed at all, were decidedly subservient to kings. They could hardly have foreseen that things would evolve differently in the Old World. So they chose to elect a monarch for a limited term, and drafted a system that was expressly designed to curb any one group from gaining excessive power over another. It was designed, rather, as a set of rules for the civilized ordinance of a gentlemen's club, but not for a major world power—still less for a superpower, all thought of which would have been abhorrent to them.

U.S. system rated adequate. Subsequent efforts to make the system more responsive to the needs of the day—and to the needs of a nation that has grown far beyond the dreams of the architects of its Constitution—have made it more and more cumbersome rather than less.

But I doubt very much if anyone seriously wishes to change it much. Americans, on the whole, like it the way it is. And, after all, it is their business. Moreover, it works adequately to defy pestilential would-be reformers, which is just as well.

We outsiders have to be careful, however, always to emphasize that we are mere onlookers at election times. I recall back in 1964, at the San Francisco convention when Senator Barry

Goldwater was nominated as the Republican Party's presidential candidate, James Reston of the *New York Times* wrote a biting column that criticized foreign correspondents for denigrating the Arizonan.

He felt that such cheek on their part could only create deep resentment among red-blooded Americans and thereby enhance Goldwater's prospects. The truth was, of course, that such criticism of the senator consisted almost entirely of quotes from Americans such as Reston.

Foreign journalists covering election campaigns in the United States are well-advised to keep their heads down. They must expect to be jammed in the back of candidates' press planes—albeit charged as much for the ride as anyone else—because they cannot, in the nature of things, influence any votes that could count in the great ritual. They should adopt a posture of philosophical detachment.

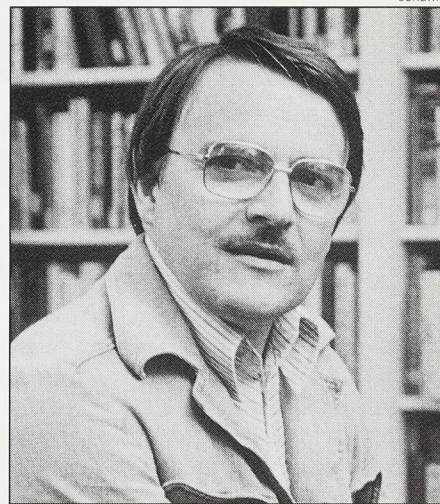
In reporting on trends, as the drama unfolds, I have found it as well not to take too seriously the profundities of several of America's best-known political pundits. They have a very high opinion of themselves—and they move about in packs. Even those who try not to, tend to form counterpack packs. They are no different from the general run of people in that they like to get behind winners and, in so doing, set bandwagons in motion.

But it is comical to observe that the very commentators who create front-runners one day are seldom reluctant to consign these to oblivion the next. Horse-race tipsters have to do much better to survive.

Quickie books about how Jimmy Carter won (or lost), how Ronald Reagan, George Bush, etc., planned their strategy and fought the good fight, will be rushed into print this year more than ever before. Of this you may be sure.

And there will be more books, too, about the Boys and Girls on the Bus. And I suspect they'll mostly get read by the people about whom they are written or who were there—and you can count me in on that, as another sucker for press gossip.

No doubt about it, American presidential campaigns are vastly diverting. And especially the conventions. H. L. Mencken got it right. I, for one, love it all—especially the balloons and funny hats, bumper stickers and Walter Cronkite. Don't bother me with platforms and promises because like most American voters, I suspect, I know they mean nothing much. Great nations end up doing what they have to do, regardless. But elections are huge fun!



Thomas Kielinger is Washington correspondent for the Bonn daily *Die Welt*. He served as literary editor, as a roving foreign correspondent and as editorial-page editor before beginning his Washington assignment in 1977.

German: The Press Mirrors "a Circus"

Here's a riddle. What occurs every four years, along with leap year? Columnist James Kilpatrick calls it "quadrennial lunacy." Presidential candidate John Anderson thinks that it's "demeaning, debilitating, degrading, dehumanizing." It is "a circus," say myriad observers.

Now who on earth would assume that we were talking about one of the most time-hallowed, respected and indispensable institutions of American democracy, the presidential elections? I dare anyone to name another democratic society that looks upon its system for choosing its future leader with as much enlightened detachment and amused disgust as do the American people.

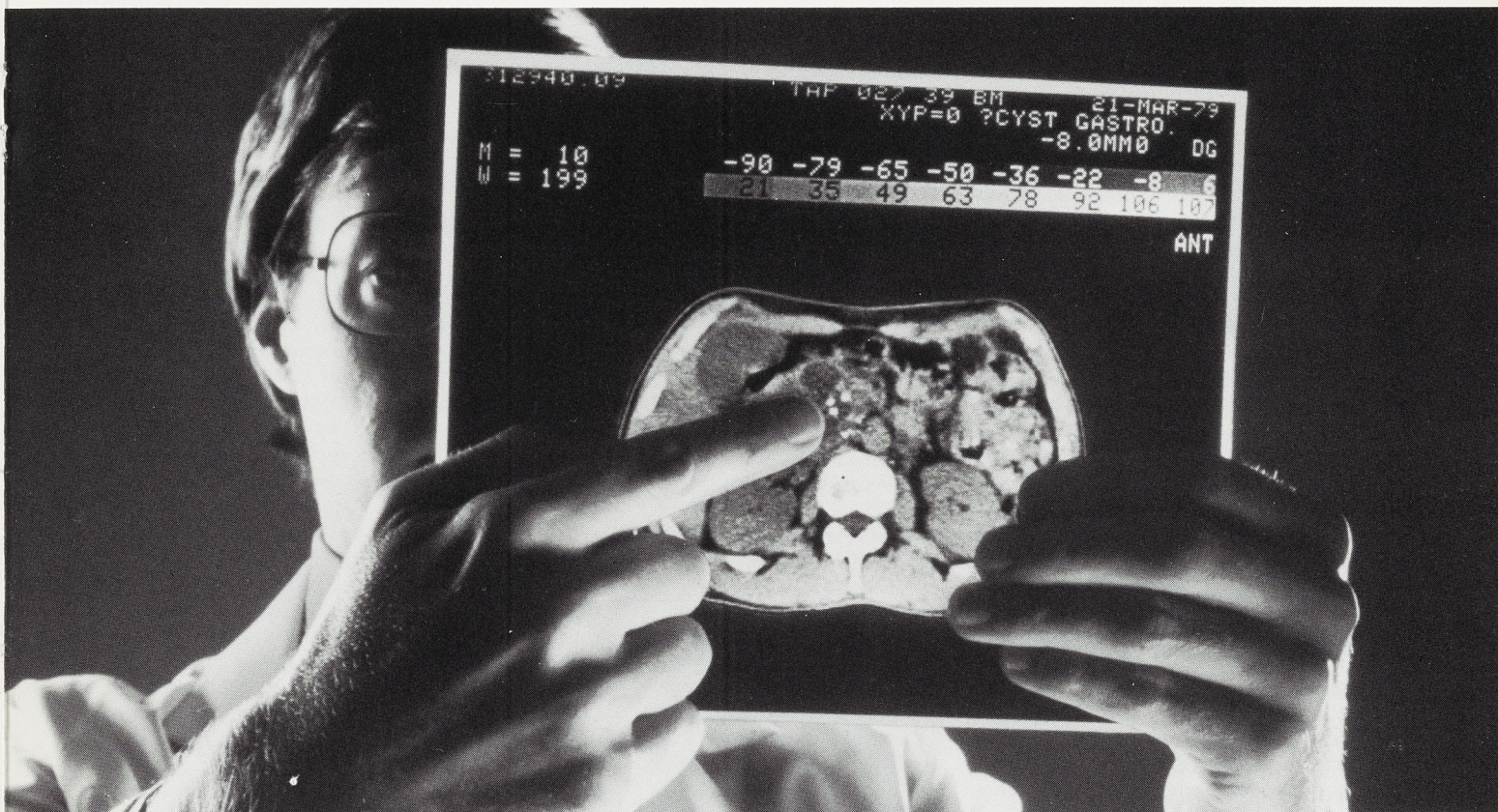
Yes, the people. There seems little doubt that the above quotations are but the tip of the iceberg. They merely hint at what the populace at large thinks about its "quadrennial lunacy." Somehow Americans do not appear to be taking it all that seriously. Witness the voter turnout, the lowest in any comparable Western democracy.

Americans well-informed. It would be a gross misrepresentation to infer that the composite U.S. citizen is not interested in the democratic process itself or the people engulfed by it. Far from it. He may not be willing to leave the comfort of his home to trudge to the nearest voting booth, but, by golly, does he soak up the stories about the



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candidates doing their political belly dancing!

It has become customary for some of my American colleagues to castigate themselves for the bad job they are doing covering the elections. We should be more into the issues, right from the start, so the rueful wisdom goes.

Well, an issue is an issue is an issue. If you rate candidates by their ability or inability to sum up the revenue sharing, gun control or abortion questions or to speak authoritatively on yesterday's problems, you're obviously looking for the kind of leadership that is derided by observers abroad as parochial, "little American," and oblivious of this country's international standing.

I am glad to note that my revered colleagues from the American media, though dutifully contrite on account of their presumed issues failure, continue covering the election campaign as they have always done.

They get behind the man and the people around him, find out how he ticks, what makes him run, how well he copes with unexpected turns in his fortune and how he is connected with the nation's various groups and power structures.

When they go for the issues, I say, "Right on." But concentrate on first things first—security, the economy and other questions in that league.

Indeed, I would like to see an even more forceful approach to the issues that really matter, even if that means coming down hard on that spreading vice—the special-interest lobby. Such a lobby felled Senator Dick Clark of Iowa in 1978 because of his abortion stand. Who knows whom they are going to fell this year on account of which special-interest complaint?

Regional primaries, perhaps? My composite pinup, the American voter, seems to be looking over my shoulder, suggesting that I transmit a message of dissatisfaction with the length of the election process. Have I read his or her mind correctly? Perhaps. It would be a tremendous advantage to start the presidential campaign later, and it wouldn't hurt, either, to hold primaries on a regional basis.

Alas, I forgot about the media. Cutting the elections short would rob them of so many more chances to dish up deliciously dramatic and enormously entertaining personality contests. Who would have wanted to miss the early unrestrained accolades doled out to Senator Kennedy, his subsequent fall from media favor, his intermittent rallying after pimple-on-a-pound-of-pork results in Maine, etc.?

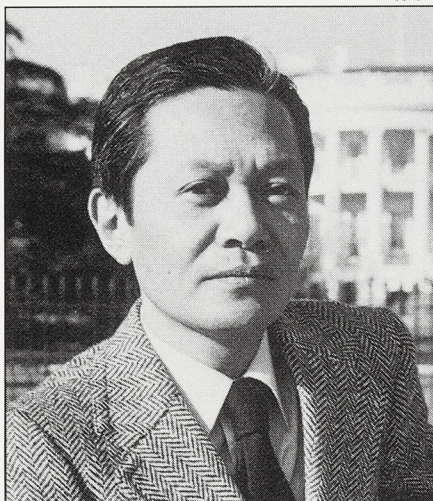
Does the press make or break a candidate? I don't think so. It mirrors pop-

ular currents, always eager to pick up the latest vital signs of a voter trend. Having gotten the putative message, the media in turn pander to the popular tune. There is no simple way out of "pack journalism." Could there be? I wonder.

Could the media give unstinting exposure to a candidate, irrespective of the negative decisions of early voters? Voters are not quite so dumb as to be unable to see through media manipulation. They may like to be entertained, but they don't relish having a candidate they don't favor pressed upon them.

Hence the early revulsion against Senator Kennedy, who suffered not only from President Carter's steep rise in popularity, but also from the perception that the media had virtually inaugurated him, long before the voters had their first say.

Somebody somewhere had either misread the vital signs of the electorate or simply indulged in too much nostalgia. The American media may do many things—lionize, damn, extol, disparage, refute or confound. But when the chips are down, it is the voters who have the last word.



Toyo Tanaka has reported from Washington for Tokyo's *Asahi Shimbun* since April, 1979. He was his newspaper's New York correspondent from 1969 to 1972, and then served as a deputy foreign editor in the home office.

Japanese: American System Is "Enigma"

To the Japanese people, the endless series of primaries is the most incomprehensible feature of the American electoral system. Reports by Japanese correspondents always begin with an

attempt to explain the balloting in New Hampshire, which is seen as an enigma.

Why must the primaries start in a small state in New England, instead of in a great state such as New York or California? Why in February, eight months before the actual Election Day?

Still, we have to admit that the system has some merit. It gives an unknown, relatively fresh candidate a chance to win recognition, while in the Japanese and European parliamentary systems only a well-established national politician can become prime minister. There is no chance of a John F. Kennedy or a Jimmy Carter coming to power.

The Japanese people also find it hard to understand the lack of a central authority in U.S. elections and the excessive dependence on television on Election Night. In 1972, I watched the voting results being tallied at NBC in New York. Very early in the evening, John Chancellor declared Nixon the victor on the basis of computer analysis. Where else in the world can a TV anchorman declare who is the winner?

TV in charge? In Japan, vote tallies from every precinct are collected by the Central Electoral Commission and then released to the news media. In the U.S., elections seem to be administered by the major TV networks.

Speeches, profiles, political commercials, the final results—all come over television. I am impressed by the enormous staff, the energy and the money that go into coverage of the national conventions. The presidential election is a TV phenomenon!

The Japanese press gives extensive coverage to the winner, a whole front page of analysis. The new American President may decide the course of Japanese policy for the next four years, because Japan is so dependent on U.S. policy. But how frustrating it is for a correspondent to have to report the outcome on the basis of a television prediction!

The Japanese are baffled by the structure of American government. Why does the presidential system, founded on a grass-roots democracy, seem at times to be autocratic? And why is it so difficult for Presidents elected with broad support to get Congress to go along with their policies?

We Japanese correspondents can't answer these questions, but we are willing to try. The people of Japan are curious about the U.S. system. This may be why the Japanese news media station so many correspondents in the United States in election years and nonelection years alike. □

The Media's Mania for Public Pulse Taking

The old days of chatting with a few voters over a fence are gone. The press is hip deep in its own scientific surveys, reports Alvin P. Sanoff, and the tide keeps rising.

Public-opinion polling has come of age in the nation's newsrooms.

The *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Des Moines Register*, CBS, NBC and many other news organizations are busier than ever taking the public's pulse in this presidential-election year.

Vast amounts of air time and news space are being devoted to poll findings. Some newspapers have assigned reporters to the polling beat full time.

Not only are pre-election stories based on opinion surveys a staple of campaign coverage, so are postelection reports that attempt to explain why people voted as they did.

Most journalists familiar with polling see it as an important aid. It gives political analysts something to rely on other than their own intuition and a few hasty interviews with voters and campaign strategists.

"Bull" ratio. James Flansburg, chief political writer for the *Des Moines Register*, says that polls "make political writing more precise and do away with a lot of bull."

Barry Sussman, the editor in charge of polling at the *Washington Post*, agrees. He cites the 1976 presidential campaign, in which both President Ford and Jimmy Carter were hounded day after day by people demanding to know their stands on abortion. Editors called for pieces assessing the impact of abortion on the campaign. Then the polls showed that few voters considered abortion an issue, and the press stopped focusing on it.

Sussman says polls enable the press to identify issues the public finds important, instead of letting politicians alone set the agenda.

Polling enthusiasts in the press also contend that surveys deepen campaign coverage by providing insights

into such things as strengths and weaknesses of candidates, what kinds of voters are supporting which candidates and how the public views various issues.

There seems little doubt that reporters are more sophisticated about polls than they used to be. Once impressed by any set of numbers, they now know that the methods used must be examined to determine whether a poll is credible.

Some journalists have taken courses to learn the intricacies of selecting a survey sample. Several news operations draw on such expertise to do their own polling; others hire outsiders to do it; still others rely solely on syndicated samplings such as those of Gallup and Harris.

The cost of polling varies widely, depending on the number of persons interviewed, the length of each interview and whether it's done on the telephone or face to face. A nationwide telephone survey of about 1,500 people—10 minutes per interview—can cost up to \$18,000.

But despite the growing sophistication of the press about polls, opinion researchers contend polls are sometimes misinterpreted and misused.

The critics complain, for one thing, that the media put too much emphasis on the "horse race" element—who is ahead and who is behind.

Experts contend that in the early stages of a campaign such surveys are of limited value in identifying the eventual winner because voters haven't begun to zero in on candidates, and thus attitudes are highly fluid. But journalists often treat early poll results as though they were engraved in stone, say the critics, thus giving a picture that can be very misleading.

The *Washington Post's* Sussman maintains that journalists cannot ignore the horse-race poll "because people want to know who is ahead." Yet he agrees that reporters ought not to make too much of the findings.

James Perry, veteran political reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, views polling done early in a campaign as "a harmless game. They ask people who they are going to vote for when 99 percent of the public still doesn't care about the election."

"Tsetse flies." Pollster Peter Hart says voters can be like "tsetse flies, lighting for about two seconds on one candidate and then moving on to another."

Even late in a race, opinions can change rapidly and make polls outdated. In New York, the Harris Survey taken a few days before the March 25 primary showed President Carter with an 18-point lead over Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). The survey found signs of slippage by Carter, but no indication that Kennedy would win, and do so handily. Similarly, polls showed Republicans Ronald Reagan and George Bush running neck and neck only a few days before the New Hampshire primary. Yet Reagan won by a margin of better than 2 to 1.

Some members of the press worry



BORGMAN IN CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

that the media are drowning the public in a flood of polling information and may be distorting the political process. Columnist Richard Reeves, for one, says poll results "become reality and can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The press is to blame for a lot of that. We publish those numbers with great ceremony, often because we have paid to collect them."

The *Boston Globe* discontinued surveys in 1978, in part out of concern that its polls were influencing campaigns. The paper said in an editorial that "poll results translate into more than just news stories. They can and they do alter the political reality at the precise moment they seek to reflect it. The candidate caught well behind at the moment the pollster takes his measure finds himself trapped in that position. Sources of funding dry up."

But the *Globe* later returned to polling. Editor Thomas Winship explains: "I guess we succumbed to pressure from people inside and outside the paper who like clues on horse races."

Many analysts insist that fears that polls will shape the outcome of elections are unwarranted. They point out that George McGovern, George Bush and Jimmy Carter all overcame low standings in published polls at one time or another.

Flashy leads. Researchers do deplore what they regard as the tendency of the press to play up survey results that grab people's attention, while playing down findings that may be less striking but more significant.

Albert Cantril, a Washington, D.C., survey researcher, asserts that syndicated pollsters sometimes cater to the press's quest for a poll that will make news. Says Cantril: "Some of the pollsters are excessively attentive to the leads of their stories because they want to attract the attention of editors. Striving for a flashy lead may make for good stories but it may not encourage very good survey research."

Writing in *Public Opinion*, Michael Wheeler, a faculty member of the New England School of Law, offers this example of what can occur when poll findings are not put in perspective:

Last summer, the press trumpeted a Harris Survey report that President Carter's standing with the American people was the lowest in history.

However, during the same period, there were signs, such as the lack of deep-seated opposition to Carter and continued personal respect for him, that his stock might be salvageable. Many journalists did not heed these signs.

Wheeler argues that because "a newspaper pays for polltakers' numbers

does not mean it should abdicate its own responsibility to interpret them."

To help the press and public in judging the reliability of polls, the National Council on Public Polls, whose members include 16 major polltakers, has developed principles of disclosure for members to abide by. Polltakers are supposed to make available details of the methods they use and the precise wording of the questions asked.

Two members, including NBC, have resigned from the council in a dispute over procedures.

While many surveys by press organizations are of high quality, experts say that some fall into the category of "quick and dirty" polls.

"A lot of people in the media think that if they have somebody who can write a few questions and they make calls on a few spare phones, they have done a survey," asserts Warren Mitofsky, head of the election-and-survey unit of CBS News. "There is a lot of amateurish work."

Pollster Cantril contends that there is "pressure in the press to capture in one question a complex set of attitudes and that cannot be done."

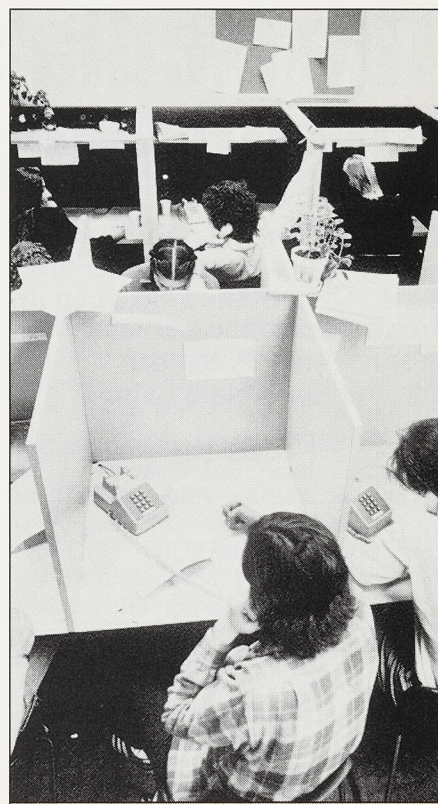
Pseudo polls. Researchers are also critical of "pseudo polls." These can take various forms. Some broadcast outlets ask people to call in answers to a question such as "Who do you favor—Jimmy Carter or Ted Kennedy?" The results are then announced on the air in a way that implies that they reflect a cross section of opinion, instead of merely the attitudes of people who happened to be listening and felt strongly enough to call. Similar objections are voiced about surveys by talk-show hosts who ask callers how they feel about a question and then tally the results.

Some polltakers complain, too, that as journalistic organizations have gotten into the polling business themselves, they have increasingly given short shrift to the surveys done by others. Veteran pollster Burns Roper says the networks don't devote the same attention to the Gallup Poll that they do to their own findings, especially when the results conflict.

In the years ahead, polling by the press is expected to continue proliferating, and with that will come new controversies about the quality of both research and reporting.

Yet, periodic squabbles are unlikely to shake the marriage between polling and the press, which is getting stronger all the time. □

Alvin P. Sanoff, who covers social trends for U.S. News & World Report, has frequently written pieces on the press.



A Saliva Test For Surveys

The difference between a valid poll and a worthless one often lies in how carefully it was done.

However, many publicly released surveys have not contained the information needed to assess their reliability.

Now, the National Council on Public Polls, an association of 16 major survey researchers, has adopted a code calling for disclosure of key details of all polls that are intended to be made public.

Points to look for, based on that code and tips from experts:

- Who sponsored the survey? Did the sponsor have an ax to grind?

- When was it conducted? Could it be out of date?

- What method of interviewing was used? Face-to-face exchanges are generally regarded as the most reliable.

- How many were questioned? The smaller the number, the greater the margin of error.

- Who was queried? All citizens, registered voters, Democrats, Republicans?

- What was the wording of the questions asked? Use of loaded phrases can influence answers.

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The Men Behind Those News Releases

The stereotype of the politician's press secretary as an ex-reporter nursing an ulcer is sometimes true to life, but not always. The major 1980 presidential aspirants—some of whose campaigns were hanging by a thread by early April—recruited press aides with a variety of backgrounds. Thomas J. Foley wrote the profiles below.

Star Handler

Joe Holmes was once a Hollywood publicity agent, but he never had a client more famous than the one he promotes today: Ronald Reagan.

Before the former California governor, the best-known purchaser of Holmes's professional services was actress Jill St. John.

That was in the late 1950s, during an earlier interruption in Holmes's career in journalism. The son of a Scranton, Pa., coal miner, Holmes enlisted in the Navy at age 17, near the end of World War II. When his hitch was up in 1949, he enrolled in Boston University, but the Korean War soon put an end to his studies. Recalled by the Navy, he spent the next half decade in the Pacific as a Navy journalist and later as a civilian reporter on newspapers in Guam.

In 1955, he tried his hand at public relations in Hollywood and then in the 1960s went back to newspapers, launching a couple of weeklies in Southern California.

Holmes linked up with Reagan in

1970, serving as his television adviser in Sacramento until 1975. Out of this experience came a book, *The Quotable Reagan*.

The 52-year-old journalist-press agent renewed his Reagan connection last October, and became the Republican presidential hopeful's chief press aide in February, when Press Secretary Jim Lake departed in a headquarters shake-up.

Is his commitment to his staunchly conservative boss ideological? Yes, says Holmes: "I have a very strong feeling about Reagan and what he stands for."

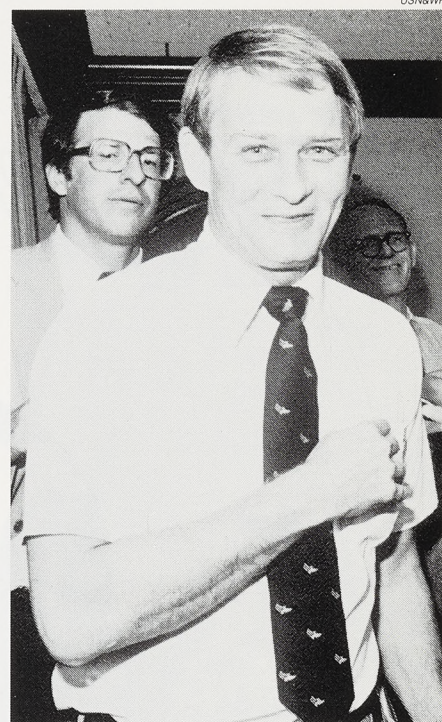
Carter's Crossbearer

Presidential Press Secretary Jody Powell has worked for Jimmy Carter almost since leaving school.

A fellow Georgian, Powell became a Carter aide 10 years ago at age 27, after undergraduate training at the Air Force Academy and Georgia State University and graduate work in political science at Emory University.

He has been with Carter through it all—the victorious 1970 campaign for the governorship of Georgia, the long climb to the Presidency, the grueling struggles in Washington. It's no wonder that Powell is closer to his boss than any press secretary since Dwight Eisenhower's Jim Hagerty.

He is so deeply involved in substantive matters that he is not always as accessible as some White House report-



White House Press Secretary Powell is sometimes genial, sometimes caustic.

ers would like. But they rarely find him ill-informed.

Powell cultivates a "good ole boy" manner and enjoys swapping stories and pub crawling with members of the press. When the mood settles on him, he can be very funny and more than a little profane in background briefings.

But some reporters describe Powell's cockiness as occasionally verging on arrogance, and White House regulars know how quickly his genial ways can melt into acerbity when he's peppered with sharp questions. He once interrupted a reporter's query to exclaim: "We all have our crosses to bear. You have me, and I have you."

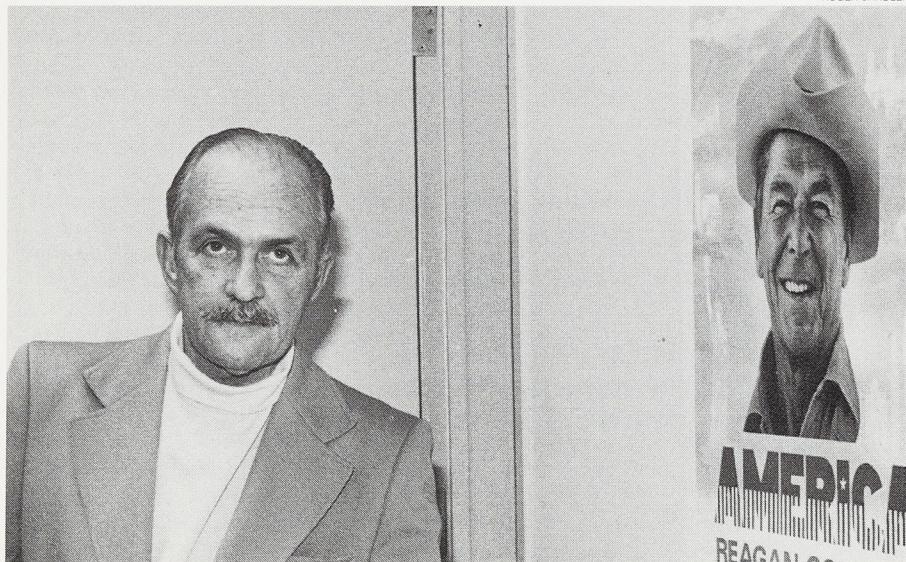
New Englander

Tom Southwick has the kind of background one might expect for the press secretary to Senator Edward M. Kennedy—a New Englander by birth, a Washingtonian much of his life, a Harvard graduate and an ex-reporter for Massachusetts newspapers.

Southwick, 31, the son of a former United Press newsman, grew up mostly in Washington and then returned to New England for college and his first jobs in journalism.

After Harvard, where he was executive editor of the *Crimson* and graduated with honors in 1971, Southwick spent a year working to elect George McGovern President. Then he became an editorial writer for the *Berkshire Eagle* of Pittsfield, Mass.

He came back to Washington a cou-



Ex-Hollywood publicist Joe Holmes first joined Ronald Reagan in 1970, when he became the California governor's television adviser in Sacramento.

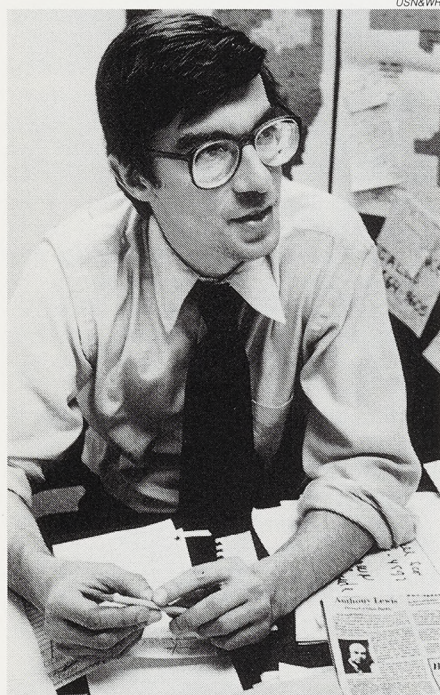
ROGER SANDLER

ple of years later, working for the Griffin-Larrabee News Bureau and *Congressional Quarterly* before becoming Kennedy's press secretary in 1977.

Southwick concentrates on the nuts and bolts of the press operation and is well liked by most reporters who have trailed Kennedy. But he is not a member of the senator's inner circle of advisers, as was Kennedy's longtime press aide Richard Drayne.

And this lack of clout occasionally has drawn deprecating comments from reporters during times of turmoil in the Kennedy camp. Says one: "Southwick's 5 feet tall standing in 8 feet of water."

What will Southwick do after the



Kennedy aide Southwick. "He's in 8 feet of water," comments one reporter.

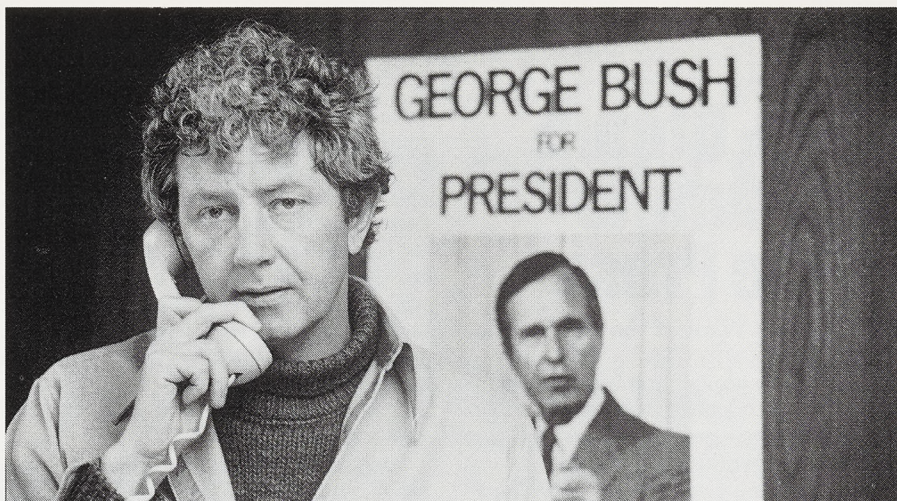
presidential campaign? His answer: "Anything the senator wants me to do."

"Maybe the Best"

Republican presidential contender George Bush argues that experience is his big selling card. His press man, Peter E. Teeley, could make the same claim for himself.

Before joining Bush, Teeley, 40, was a press agent for the Republican National Committee, served as a 1976 campaign aide to President Ford and worked as press secretary for two U.S. senators—Robert Griffin of Michigan and Jacob Javits of New York.

Whatever the ultimate fate of Bush's campaign, reporters credit Teeley with adding to his candidate's early momentum. "He's into image making. He is



George Bush's press aide, Peter Teeley, is a naturalized American who was born in Britain and educated in Detroit. Reporters rate his skills very highly.

part of creating what George Bush is," says one newsmen.

Campaign regulars give Teeley high marks for accessibility and knowing what the press needs and when it needs it. "He is very good. Maybe the best," comments one reporter.

That's a surprising tribute to a man who has never worked a day as a journalist himself. His biggest job outside politics has been a stint with an advertising agency.

Politics is in Teeley's blood. Those who know him doubt that he'll be out of it long, even if the Bush effort flops. "I like it," he concedes. "It's where the action is."

Teeley has another distinction: He was born in England of British parents with long Irish ancestry. When he was 6, his parents immigrated to Detroit, where their son, now a naturalized American, was later graduated from Wayne State University.

Presidential Scholar

Representative John Anderson, a studious, independent-minded Republican, has never been reliably partisan. Mark Bisnow, his press secretary, comes from the same mold.

Before Bisnow, 27, signed on with the Illinois congressman in 1978, he worked on Capitol Hill for four other lawmakers—three Democrats and a Republican.

"I found it no great adjustment working for either Democrats or Republicans," he says. "I don't take an ideological or partisan approach to my job. I just want to work for a boss who is intelligent and whose heart is in the right place."

After Bisnow, a California native, graduated from Stanford University in 1973, he went on to earn a master's degree in history and spend a year at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School for International Affairs.

His first Capitol Hill job was as an

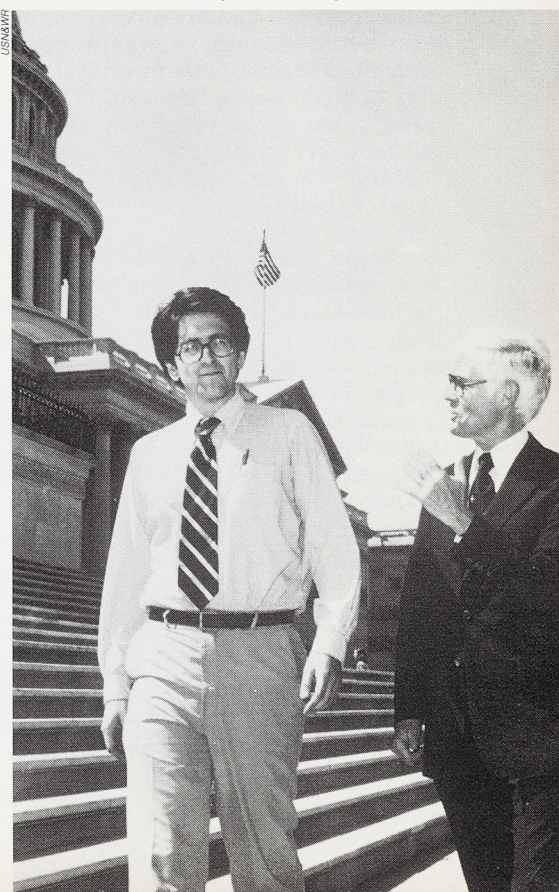
aide to the late Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.). A United Nations internship and a tour with the U.S. Mission in Berlin followed.

Then it was back to Congress, where Bisnow worked successively for Representatives Mark Hannaford (D-Calif.) and Don Bonker (D-Wash.) and Senator John Heinz (R-Pa.). He met Anderson when he joined the staff of the ad hoc House Energy Committee, where Anderson was the ranking Republican.

The scholarly Bisnow began fielding press queries less than a year ago and it has been on-the-job training since. □

Thomas J. Foley covers politics for U.S. News & World Report.

Bisnow, shown here with his boss John Anderson, eschews partisanship.



1980: Utopia For Pundits Of the Press

THIS IS THE YEAR of the Political Super Bowl.

There is an almost unending series of play-offs and a galaxy of contenders demanding—and getting—the spotlight on the presidential field of action.

This makes a near utopia for the columnists and the commentators, who do not hesitate to constitute themselves the coaches, the referees and the Monday-morning quarterbacks. And in this game of politics, Monday morning comes every day somewhere on the national political landscape, with the writers telling the spectators perpetually who is winning and why, who is losing and why, who is faltering and why and who is heading to the shower.

In all my years of political reporting—from FDR to Jimmy Carter—I have never seen so many political analysts at work to such good effect. My observation is that, as never before, the columnists are being read more closely and heeded more attentively. In an election year, they stand out as the principal stars of our profession—better known and sometimes more widely quoted than some of the candidates they are appraising.

Only *one* is more powerful than all the columnists combined—the *voting citizen*. And this year, voters are apparently not standing aside in cynical dismay and protesting how bad government is, but are relishing the focus of publicity on their decision making.

Thirst for analysis. There is no doubt, I think, that the columnists are being read with unusual attention and are being visibly influential. Charles Seib, until recently the ombudsman of the *Washington Post*, had a piece a while ago citing a poll of newspaper readers which showed that about 65 percent of them do not rely on the daily press as their principal source of spot news, but on television and radio plus the newsmagazines.

That doesn't mean that there are fewer newspaper readers, but that they read their papers for other purposes than immediate news. They read them for editorial comment, for articles on the background and meaning of the news and for other features.

To me this helps to explain the rise of the columnists to the high peak of readership they are attaining.

Naturally, I think this is all to the good. Perhaps it's professional bias because I recently read where some political scientists, perhaps looking for something different to say, are suggesting that the primaries and caucuses are mostly "media events," created by the political columnists and commentators, and thus raised to a level far beyond their real importance. Their theory, to paraphrase Shakespeare, seems to be that nothing is real or unreal but the media make it so.

Perhaps the media are overcovering—some would say exploiting—the primary contests. They have made them high-visibility political events. But the media are not going to go away. And shouldn't. I hope they keep it up.

No doubt, the heightened attention of the columnists and the commentators and the media, print and electronic, does serve to lure more voters to the polls. What's wrong with that?

This leaves me with the considered judgment: That the media, combining all their forces, exert a beneficial impact on the workings of the primaries and the caucuses.

And: That the voting citizens, responding in part to the glow of importance with which the analysts surround them, are strengthening the presidential-nominating process and making it more democratic.

Sometimes in reading the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Star*, the *New York Times*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers, I feel a little suffocated with politics; there sometimes

are six or seven stories even when little is happening.

But the regular fare of the wide cross section of columnists from whom readers may choose is definitely gourmet: David Broder, so decent, so fair, so gracefully knowledgeable; Jack Germond and Jules Witcover, everywhere with all the inside-dope stuff; Joseph Kraft, intelligent advice from on high; James Reston, insights no one else thinks of; George Will, so gentle that he can cut you off at the neck and you hardly feel it; James Kilpatrick, a vivid instrument of the rational right; Meg Greenfield, the perceptive overview; William F. Buckley, Jr., hardest hitting when he is attacking the Republicans; Garry Wills, who can be very scathing; Evans and Novak, first with the latest.

End of "one-party press." I have no favorites. I read them all—and others. And one thing is particularly true in this year of the Political Super Bowl. Adlai Stevenson was right in 1952 when he lodged his powerful, valid complaint against the "one-party press." Not now. The columnists and the commentators seem to me to be notably fair and objective, treating Edward Kennedy not as a Kennedy but as a candidate, not soft on the President but respectful.

All in all, 1980 is a good year for politics, and the columnists are helping to make it so. □

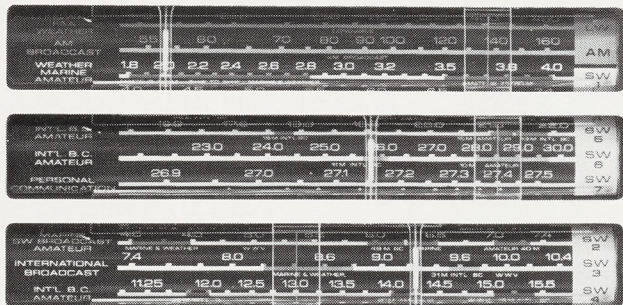
Roscoe Drummond is a former chief of the Washington bureaus of the Christian Science Monitor and the New York Herald Tribune. He now writes a column for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

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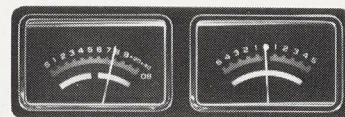
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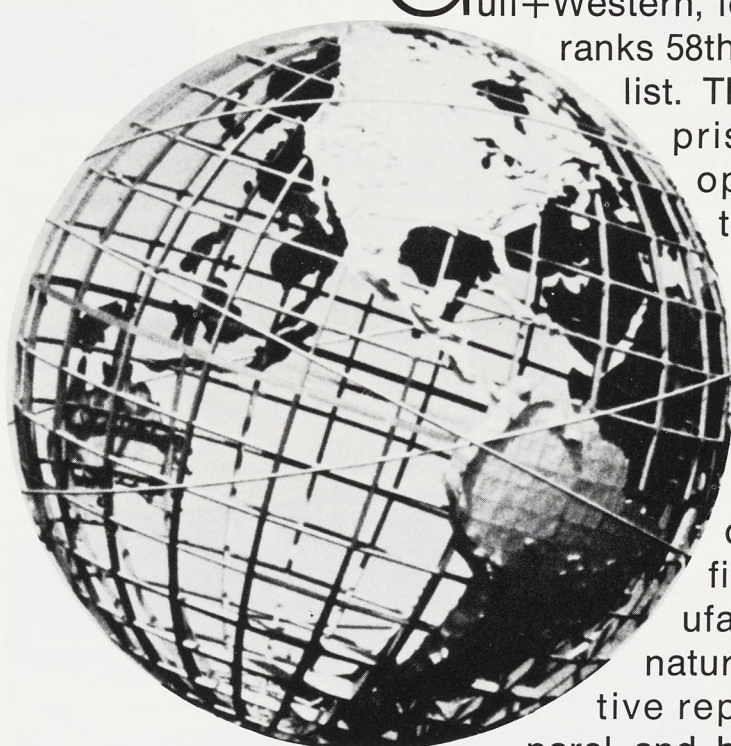


There are other changes, too. What they add up to is this: The new Zenith Trans-Oceanic is an engineering triumph. It is literally the best radio we've ever made. See your Zenith dealer to place your order.



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By Art Buchwald

"My Husband, The Candidate"

When Dateline asked Art Buchwald to turn his imagination loose on politicians and the press, he said he didn't think he could top a column first published in 1976:

It is regrettable that when the wife of someone running for public office is interviewed she can't say what is really on her mind. To be a good candidate's wife, she must show a stiff upper lip and stick with the standard clichés about her husband, her home and her children.

Now, for the first time, thanks to a new extrasensory-perception process, I can reveal what is really going on in the mind of the wife of the candidate. Her thoughts are in italics.

"Mrs. Goodfellow, what is the most important role a wife must play in her husband's political career?"

"She must give him moral support when he is discouraged. She must be his ears and eyes when he isn't around, and she must be able to make him relax at the end of a hard day's campaigning."

As well as keep him off the bottle

and away from all the skirts who think he's God's gift to women.

"You have four children. Do you find they miss their father when he is out making speeches all the time?"

"I imagine they do. But Charlton's a wonderful father and he always makes time for the children, no matter how many political commitments he has."

Would you believe he hasn't seen them since the Fourth of July?

"Do the children understand that both of you have to be away from home so much?"

"They're wonderful about it and just as interested in the race as we are."

They've only run away from home twice—the second time they asked to be placed in an orphanage.

"Do you get upset at the terrible things that are said about your husband during the campaign?"

"Oh, no. One must understand that politics is a rough business and I'm used to it."

But if I ever see the wife of the candidate Charlton is running against, I'll scratch her eyes out.

"Mrs. Goodfellow, do you find it tiring to be constantly in the limelight and always on your best behavior?"

"I love it. When we first got married, Charlton indicated he wanted to go

into politics, and I knew that although it would place me in the spotlight our lives would be exciting, thrilling and rewarding. I wouldn't change my life for anything."

Except to be married to a plumber or somebody else with a respectable job.

"How do you manage to keep so beautifully dressed all the time?"

"I make do on Charlton's salary. You just have to know where the bargains are."

If it weren't for the trust fund Daddy left me, I'd be in rags right now.

"Mrs. Goodfellow, do you ever get any time alone with your husband?"

"Oh, yes. We steal many hours together and talk about the children and the funny things that have happened during the campaign and the intimate day-to-day happenings of our lives."

The only other people present are his political-campaign manager, his press man, his finance chairman and 43 other volunteer workers.

"Mrs. Goodfellow, if your husband wins his race for office, will you change your living habits in any way?"

"Oh, no. I'm going to be the same person I was before."

I'll just take more tranquilizers.

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Every year, our journalists travel far enough to get to the moon and back 9 times.

It takes a lot of news and information to produce the 60-plus magazines, newsletters, books and wire services that make up the McGraw-Hill Publications Company. And if this wealth of information is to be useful to business, industrial and professional readers, it has to be current, pertinent, factual and lively.

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Axel Krause, McGraw-Hill
World News correspondent.

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1979 AWARDS

Overseas Press Club

AS WE ENTER the '80s, we face many unsolved problems and a large number of new ones. Political strife in the Middle East, inflation at home and an uncontrolled energy crisis are causing considerable upheaval. To make matters worse, we are being confronted with a menace of great proportions to the role of the press in American society.

In the past, there were isolated violations of the freedom of the press, relatively small in number and of minor significance. In recent years, however, assaults on the First Amendment—the source of our fundamental right to be kept fully informed about our government and developments in our society—have increased notably. We are likely to be confronted with growing threats to this right during the new decade.

Matters have now reached the point where courts have authorized police searches and confiscation of material in newspaper offices. We have witnessed the exclusion of the press—and consequently the public—from a growing number of government investigations, court trials and, in many cases, pretrial proceedings.

And that is not all. The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, in a recent report, pointed to increasing attempts to compel news people to disclose confidential sources and surrender notes. In many cases, these efforts were backed up by threats of subpoenas and even jail.

It is not without significance that the majority of these attempts to intimidate the press and frustrate its investigations centered on the press's exposure of government corruption. Ironically, this intensified repression has been unwittingly encouraged by a complacent public that has displayed a cynical and sometimes suspicious attitude toward the news media.

In fact, First Amendment rights have very little to do with so-called special privileges for news reporters and their publishers. We should emphasize this.

Many Americans labor under the erroneous impression that the First Amendment was drafted for the benefit of reporters and publishers. It actually was drafted to protect the fundamental right of all citizens to be kept informed.

The Founding Fathers, in their dedication to the principles of a free society, provided the framework for a free press. They hoped that out of the mass of half-truths and conflicting ideas, the truth somehow would reach the public. It took two centuries for the press's devotion to truth to reach the high level seen in the media today.

The threat to press freedom is reaching especially dangerous proportions now because it is emanating primarily from



Henry Gellermann, long a defender of freedom of the press, is president of the OPC.

the body most responsible for safeguarding the First Amendment—the judiciary, led by the Supreme Court of the United States. While the right of journalists to publish is still being challenged only rarely, their ability to obtain the news is being slowly but steadily eroded and undermined.

"Pillars of freedom." This most serious threat calls for a reawakening of the American public and a sharp response by all those interested in preserving the pillars on which our freedoms rest.

The Overseas Press Club of America is seeking to do its part. Through our Freedom of the Press Committee, we have acted on our own and with others to raise the alarm and to draw the attention of citizens to the grave dangers implicit in each act of repression of the press.

The value of a free press is dramatically demonstrated once more in the awards to our colleagues at the 1980 Awards Dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. The Awards Committee, which is chaired by Gerold Frank, deserves the thanks of all of us for having accomplished a difficult task: Picking the best from among so many excellent entries.

The extraordinary performances, described on the pages that follow in texts by George Burns, are a credit not only to those we have honored but also to the free press, which has made these achievements possible. The awards and the work of the awards winners should remind us of the value of keeping the free press free. □

Henry Gellermann

President's Award

The President's Award is presented to His Excellency Kenneth Taylor. As Canadian ambassador to Iran, at great personal risk he sequestered U.S. citizens from hostile militants and engineered their escape, winning the cooperation and admiration of the world press.



WIDE WORLD

CLASS 1

The Hal Boyle Award for the best daily-newspaper or wire-service reporting from abroad

WINNER**SAJID RIZVI**

United Press International

Sajid Rizvi began 1979 with an exclusive: The Shah's decision to flee Iran. As the year progressed, his file of stories from Iran documented a critical period of history in the making.

He reported the violence of the change of power, establishment of an Islamic Republic, the ordeal of the hostages, summary executions of the Shah's supporters and rebellion by ethnic minorities.

The stories also placed the events of the day in historical perspective and

offered a sophisticated analysis of a Byzantine process.

Sajid Rizvi has been UPI's chief correspondent in Teheran since 1977. A Pakistani, Rizvi is a graduate of the University of Karachi. He is fluent in English, Farsi, Urdu and Hindi, and has a working knowledge of French, German, Arabic, Turkish and Russian.

Citations in this class go to Thomas Kent of AP and to David Boldt of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, both for their coverage from Iran in 1979.

Judges: Henry Cassidy, Rosalind Massow and Ansel Talbert.

**CITATIONS**

Thomas Kent
Associated Press

David Boldt
Philadelphia Inquirer

**CLASS 2**

The Bob Considine Award for the best daily-newspaper or wire-service interpretation of foreign affairs

WINNER**RAY VICKER**

Wall Street Journal

"Islam is on the march throughout the Moslem world," Ray Vicker wrote. "It affects governments in Iran, Pakistan, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and elsewhere. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlevi is on an extended vacation from Iran because he failed to heed the meaning of this revival."

That passage was written before the Shah's "vacation" became exile. Vicker went on to explain to *Wall Street Journal* readers what the Shah had not understood—the meaning of the revival

of Islam in the Moslem world. Vicker has covered the Arab world off and on for 20 years. Last year, he wrote illuminating explanations of the forces at work in the Iranian revolution. Vicker has reported for the *Journal* since 1951 and is now its senior international editor, based in Cyprus.

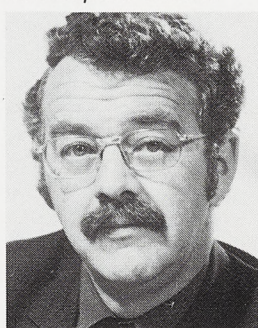
Citations go to Ronald Ross of the *Minneapolis Tribune* for his reporting on China and to William Beecher of the *Boston Globe* for his news analysis.

Judges: Henry Cassidy, Rosalind Massow and Ansel Talbert.

**CITATIONS**

Ronald Ross
Minneapolis Tribune

William Beecher
Boston Globe



1979 AWARDS



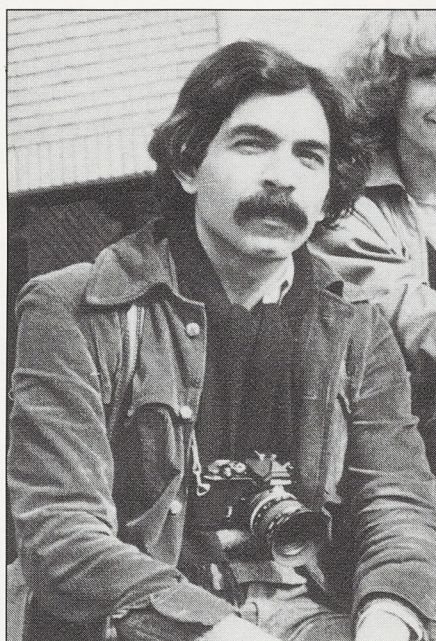
CLASS 3

The Robert Capa Gold Medal for best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

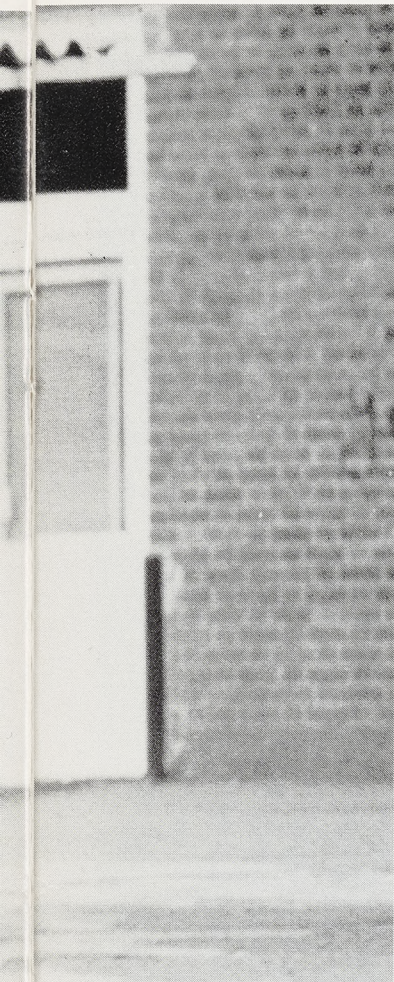
WINNER

KAVEH GOLESTAN

Time magazine



Golestan's photo of Iranians carrying garbage in U.S. flag drew wide attention.



Kaveh Golestan is a talented and courageous young Iranian who has covered the revolution among his own people for *Time* magazine. For the past 18 months, since the crisis began, he has been in the thick of the action, often risking his personal safety, often in conflict with his own government, to show the rest of the world the struggles within the Iranian society.

When asked about the winner's background, *Time* replied that "because of problems in communication with Iran," it was "unable to provide a biography of Mr. Golestan."

His pictures speak for him.

An anonymous citation was voted in this class for a photo taken in Iran. It goes to the photographer who took the picture "Firing Squad," which was submitted by United Press International.

Judges: Barrett Gallagher, Charles Rotkin, Francis Brennan, John Durniak, John G. Morris, Arthur Rothstein and Arnold Drapkin.

CITATION

Given to the photographer in Iran who took "Firing Squad," submitted by United Press International.



1979 AWARDS

CLASS 4
Best photographic
reporting from abroad



WINNER
DAVID BURNETT
Contact Press Images



From David Burnett's portfolio: The Khan of Kalat relaxes among the symbols of his great wealth on the family estate in Quetta, Pakistan.

During 1979, David Burnett provided unexcelled photo coverage of Baluchi refugees in Pakistan, boat people in Malaysia, Cambodian refugees in Thailand and the revolution in Iran.

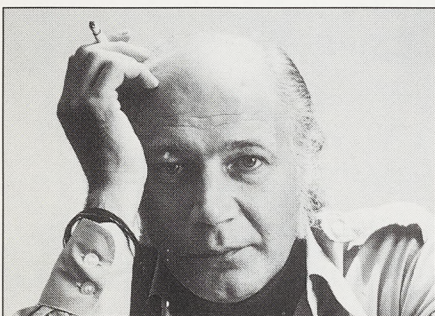
In 16 years as a photojournalist, Burnett worked for *Time*, *Life*, the *New York Times* and the European Gamma agency before starting the Contact Press Images group with fellow photographers. He has covered the Caribbean, South America, Southeast Asia and Africa. In 1973, he won the OPC's Robert Capa Gold Medal.

Citations were voted in Class 4 for Eddie Adams of the Associated Press, Jean-Pierre Laffont of Sygma, Jay B. Mather of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Times* and Alex Webb of *Geo* magazine.

Judges: Barrett Gallagher, Charles Rotkin, Francis Brennan, John Durniak, John G. Morris, Arthur Rothstein and Arnold Drapkin.



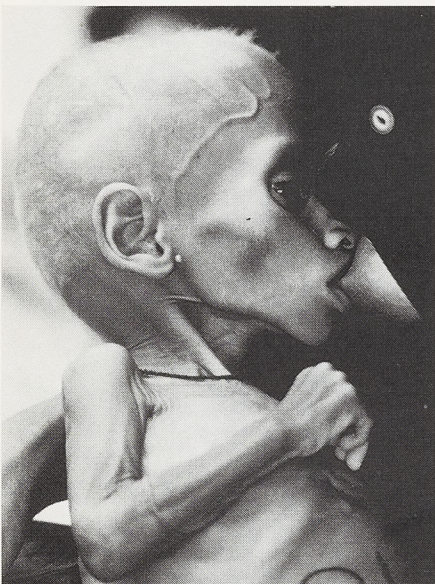
Burnett's photo "Bloody Hands," taken before the Ayatollah Khomeini's return to Iran. A demonstrator displays blood-soaked hands after troops fired into crowd.



CITATION

Eddie Adams

Associated Press,
for extraordinary enterprise
in sensitively covering
"The World's Homeless." Samplings
from entry are below and at right.



1979 AWARDS

CLASS 4

Best photographic reporting from abroad

CITATION

Jean-Pierre Laffont

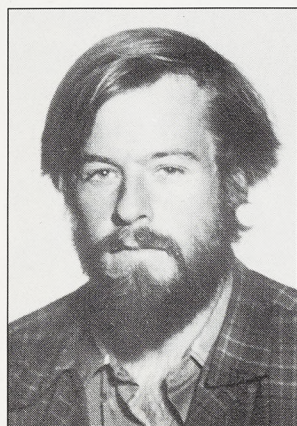
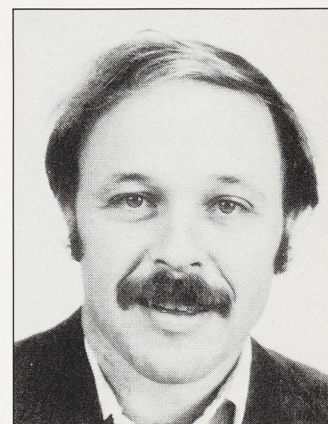
Sygma agency, for his one-man crusade to expose the conditions of child labor throughout the world.



CITATION

Jay B. Mather

Louisville Courier-Journal, for photo series: "Living the Cambodian Nightmare."



CITATION

Alex Webb

Geo magazine, for "Life Begins on the Other Side," the hidden story of the 1,000-mile-long U.S.-Mexican border. Photo at right shows arrest near border.



The difference between the nightly TV newscasts and "Washington Week in Review" is simple. The nightly news tells you what's happening. "Washington Week in Review" tells you why. And how it may affect you.

Every week moderator Paul Duke considers the week's major news stories. And every Friday on PBS he invites the leading Washington journal-

ists who know those subjects best to analyze them. The result is informal give-and-take among some of the most

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WHAT'S HAPPENING.**

**"WASHINGTON WEEK IN REVIEW"
TELLS YOU WHY.**



"Sperry and Hutchinson?
That's S&H Green Stamps, isn't it?"

"Green Stamps, sure.
\$260 million in sales in '78.
But they're a whole lot more.
One of the biggest in furnishings."

"That's Sperry and Hutchinson?"

"Right. Like Bigelow carpets.
Gunlocke furniture. Daystrom.
American Drew. Lea Industries.
Nine furnishing companies in all.
Sales of \$422 million last year."

"That's Sperry and Hutchinson?"

"There's more, Tom.
Incentives.
Insurance services and agencies.

Altogether they had over
\$800 million in '78 revenues.
Solid, diversified, growing."

"So that's Sperry and Hutchinson!"



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CLASS 5

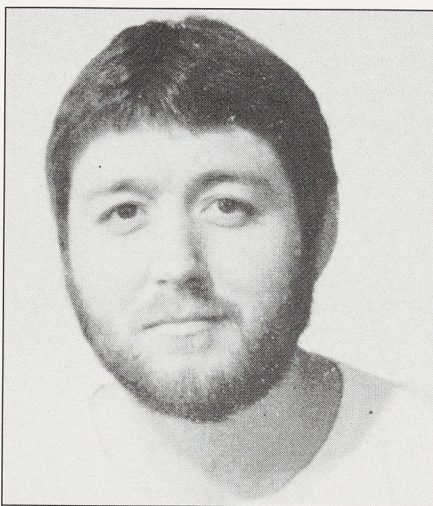
The Ben Grauer Award for the best radio spot news from abroad

WINNER**PHILIP TILL**

NBC News

Philip Till of NBC News has brought Americans the sounds of the Iranian revolution: Mobs chanting, "Death to all Americans," leaders' strident promises to cut off oil to the U.S., the trembling voice of a woman hostage just released by the militants.

Till's radio broadcasts from Teheran, live and on tape, provided clear and perceptive reporting and analysis of one of the major news stories of 1979.



Till was born in England and educated there and in West Germany. He went to work for United Press International at age 16, working first on the European news desk in London, then covering Eastern Europe from Vienna, Brussels and Bonn.

He joined NBC News in Bonn and, based in its Paris bureau, reported the Portuguese revolution, the civil war in Lebanon, the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations, the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and, last year, the turbulent events in Iran.

In pursuit of Iran-related stories, he has traveled throughout Europe and put in three stints in Teheran, being expelled twice for entering Iran without a visa.

Judges: Howard L. Kany and Dr. Gene Sosin.

CLASS 6

The Lowell Thomas Award for the best radio interpretation of foreign affairs

WINNER**CBS NEWS TEAM***Correspondents—*

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD
RANDY DANIELS
JED DUVALL
ERIC ENGBERG
FRED GRAHAM
RICHARD C. HOTTELET
GORDON JOSELOFF
BERNARD KALB
MARVIN KALB
MIKE LEE
ROD MACLEISH
ARDEN OSTRANDER
IKE PAPPAS
DOUG POLING
BERT QUINT
LESLEY STAHL
RICHARD WAGNER

Producers—

JOAN BURKE
PAUL FISCHER
JOANNE MALLIE
NORMAN MORRIS
ADAM POWELL
CHARLES R. REEVES
JOE WILLIAMS

By the weekend after militants seized the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, a CBS News team had put together a 20-part series of radio reports, broadcast Saturday and Sunday, that provided a tremendous volume of detail on the fast-breaking story, plus background analysis. Seventeen CBS reporters contributed to the story—from Teheran, Washington, the United Nations, New

York, Beirut, Moscow and London. Seven producers put it together.

"Iran: The Critical Days" was a demonstration of teamwork at its best and of the excellent interpretive reporting for which Lowell Thomas—after whom this award is named—is famous.

Judges: Howard L. Kany and Dr. Gene Sosin.



Lowell Thomas, after whom the Class 6 award is named, in Tibet, 1949.

CBS PHOTO

1979 AWARDS

CLASS 7

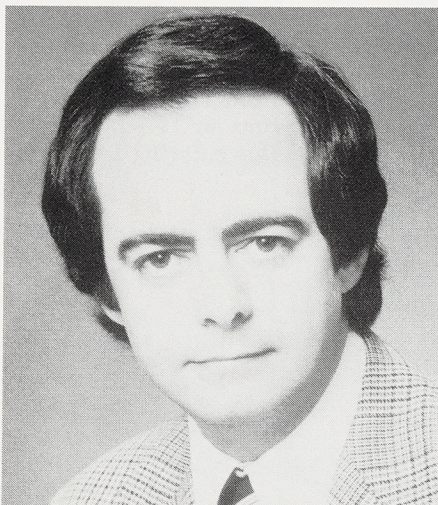
Best TV spot-news
reporting from abroad

WINNERS

BILL STEWART (below)

JACK CLARK

ABC News



Correspondent Bill Stewart and his cameraman Jack Clark are being honored for their coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution, in which Stewart lost his life.

Stewart was sent to the Central American country by ABC in the summer of 1979. After several months of covering combat, he approached a military roadblock carrying a white flag and press credentials. A Nicaraguan soldier forced him to lie on the ground, and murdered him.

Clark filmed the entire episode. The government denied it had happened, but that night the tape was shown to the Organization of American States and on the three U.S. TV networks, and the U.S. government called for replacement of the Somoza regime.

Before he was hired by ABC News in 1976, Stewart had been an award-winning investigative reporter for WCCO-TV in Minneapolis and a news analyst for WCAU-TV in Philadelphia.

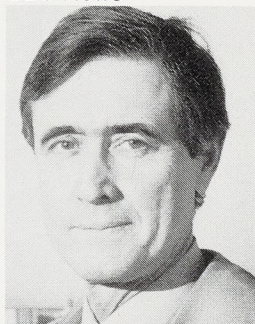
A citation is awarded to

CBS correspondents Tom Fenton and Don Kladstrup for their coverage of two funerals on the same day—one in Westminster Abbey of Lord Mountbatten, who was killed by Catholic terrorists, and one in Belfast of Catholic grocery clerk Gerry Lennon, who was killed by Protestant vigilantes.

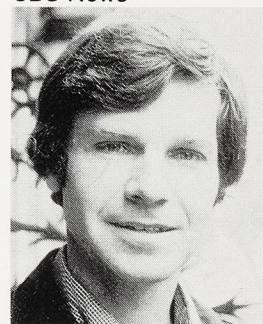
Judges: Russ Patrick and Mitchell Stephens.

CITATIONS

Tom Fenton
CBS News



Don Kladstrup
CBS News



VOLKSWAGEN OF AMERICA, INC.

CLASS 8

The Edward R. Murrow Award for best TV interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs

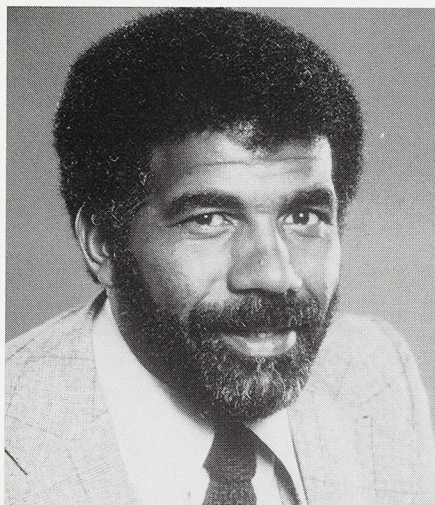
WINNERS

CBS NEWS TEAM

ED BRADLEY (at right)
ANDREW LACK
HOWARD STRINGER
GREG COOKE
IAN WILSON

Along the coast of Malaysia and Southeast Asia are stranded thousands of homeless Vietnamese refugees—the boat people.

A CBS News team that set out to examine their plight helped rescue refugees from a floundering boat and became the first outsiders to penetrate Pulau Bidong, an island off limits to newsmen. There, 23,000 refugees—housewives, children, doctors, military



officers—were found living in squalor with putrid water, little food, a few jars of pills and acupuncture tools their only medical supplies. All were ready to risk the open sea and marauding Thai pirates, and to pay dearly to get to the United States.

The team members filmed the boat people's plight and asked how such things could happen: They asked officials there and officials here at home. Team members were correspondent Ed Bradley, producer Andrew Lack, executive producer Howard Stringer and cameramen Greg Cooke and Ian Wilson.

A citation in this class goes to ABC News Special Events, for the nightly series "The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage."

Judges: Russ Patrick and Mitchell Stephens.

CLASS 9

The Mary Hemingway Award for the best magazine reporting from abroad

"The Colombia Connection: Billions in Pot and Coke" was *Time's* best-selling cover in 1979. The story sought to alert the public to the thriving drug traffic from south of the border. Getting the story meant treetop flights in small planes, being shot at, contacts with shady informants, interviews with government officials and narcotics agents.

Correspondent Walter Isaacson, now

in *Time's* Washington bureau, graduated from Harvard University in 1974, was a Rhodes Scholar, and has worked as a reporter for London's *Sunday Times*.

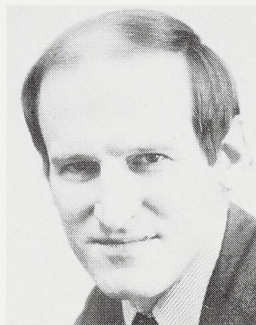
Correspondent Donald Neff joined *Time* in 1965 and has served in Vietnam and as bureau chief in Houston, Los Angeles, Jerusalem and New York. He is now editor of Time-Life News Services.

The judges awarded a citation to David Butler of *Newsweek* for "Cambodia and the Boat People."

Judges: Grace Naismith, Gene Baer, Ed Cunningham, Meyer Lurie and Sam Summerlin.

CITATION

David Butler
Newsweek



WINNERS

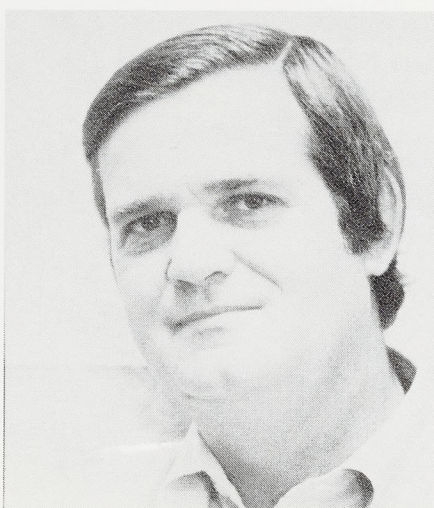
WALTER ISAACSON

Time magazine



DONALD NEFF

Time magazine



1979 AWARDS

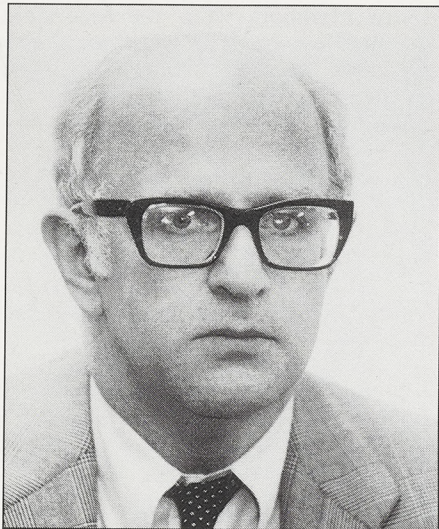
CLASS 10

Best magazine interpretation of foreign affairs

WINNERS

SIDNEY ZION

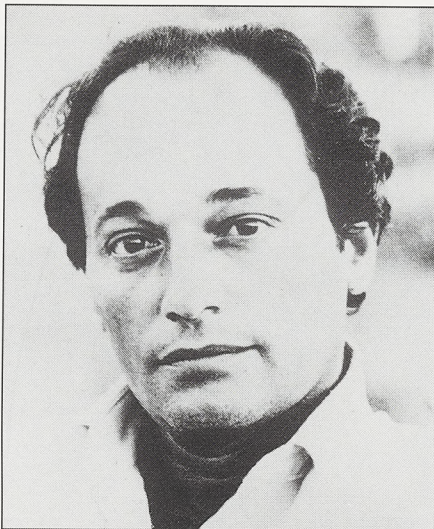
The New York Times Magazine



A remarkable account of the rapprochement between Israel and Egypt, "The Untold Story of the Mideast Talks," appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*. The authors interviewed more than 80 officials to put together what they describe as a "tale of

URI DAN

Ma'ariv



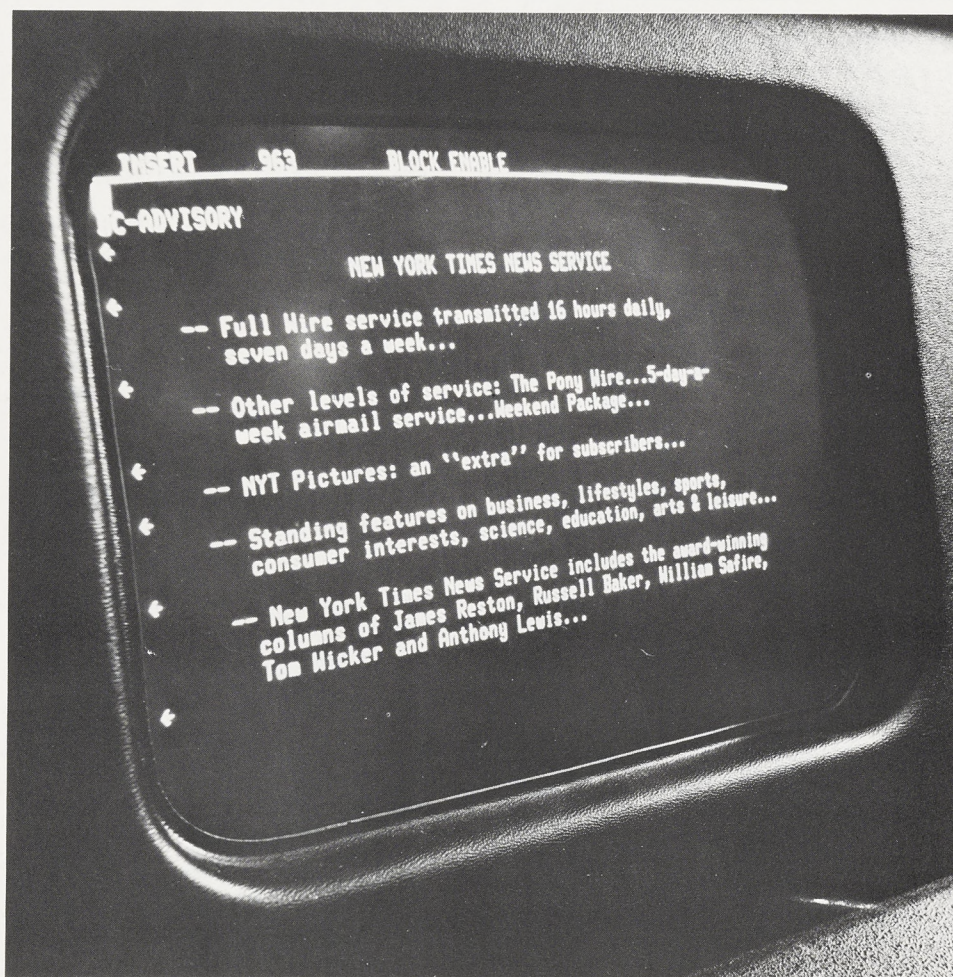
intrigue, romance, jealousy, pettiness, gallantry—and always, danger." Sidney Zion is a columnist for the *New York Post* and a contract writer for the *New York Times Magazine*. Uri Dan, co-author of the bestseller *90 Minutes at Entebbe*, reports for Israel's *Ma'ariv*.

A citation goes to Joseph B. Treaster for his reporting from the Amazon in *Atlantic Monthly*.

Judges: Grace Naismith, Gene Baer, Ed Cunningham, Meyer Lurie and Sam Summerlin.

CITATION

Joseph B. Treaster
Atlantic Monthly



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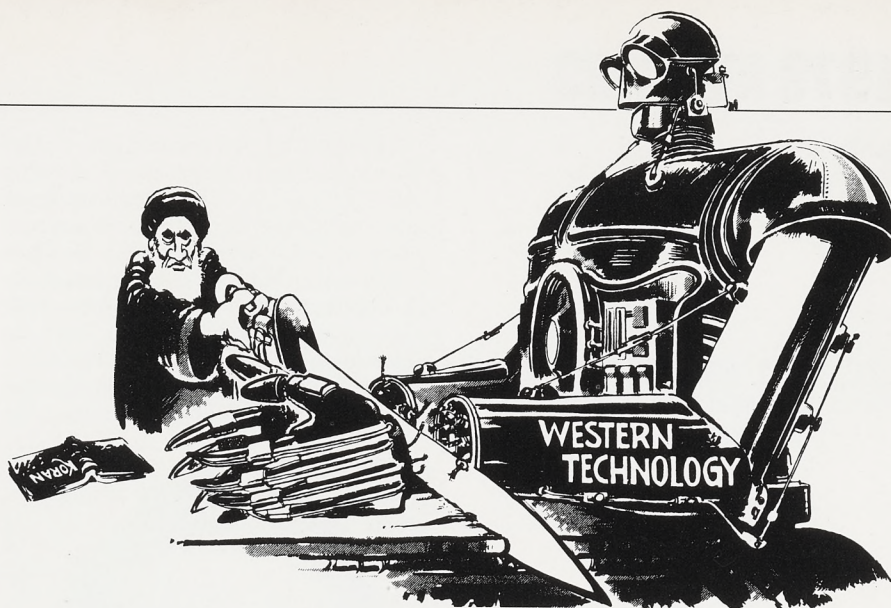
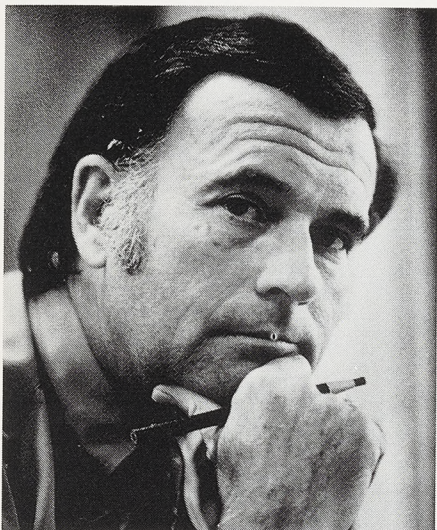
CLASS 11

Best cartoon on foreign affairs
(\$150—*New York Daily News*)

WINNER

DON WRIGHT

Miami News



Don Wright is being honored for his dramatic visual commentary on events in Iran. Wright, whose work is syndicated by the *New York Times*, joined the *Miami News* as a copy boy and progressed to photographer and photo editor before coming into his own as a cartoonist in 1963.

His art previously has won a Pulitzer Prize and awards from Sigma Delta Chi and the Overseas Press Club, has been exhibited by a number of major

museums, and is on permanent display at Syracuse University.

The judges voted citations for Ranan Lurie of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, Clyde Peterson of the *Houston Chronicle*, Jerry Robinson of Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate, Dana Summers of the *Fayetteville Times* and Doug Marlette of the *Charlotte Observer*.

Judges: Burne Hogarth, Will Eisner.

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307 East McCarty Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46285

1979 AWARDS

CLASS 12

Best business-news reporting from abroad

WINNER

WILLIAM J. HOLSTEIN

United Press International

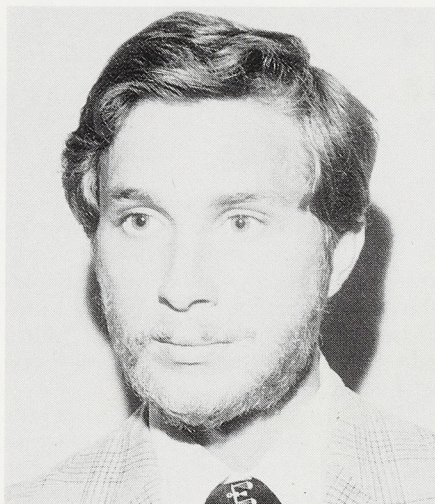
"The central preoccupation of the man in Canton's streets is not socialist class struggle; it is the acquisition of watches, televisions and other luxuries."

The writer of those words is William J. Holstein, United Press International's deputy news editor for Asia. Holstein traveled through China, from its major economic centers and the Canton Trade Fair to its muddy rural communes and the streets of its cities. He

reported major economic-policy shifts by the leadership, and the workings of capitalist-style incentives among the people. He has worked for UPI since his graduation from Michigan State University in 1973.

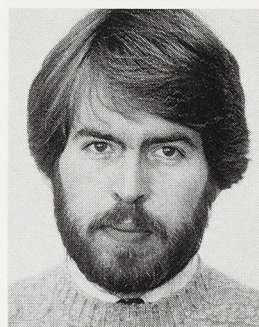
A citation goes to Robert Dudney for his coverage of Saudi Arabia while with the *Dallas Times Herald*. Dudney has since joined *U.S. News & World Report*.

Judges: George Bookman, Margaret Klein, Bob Sunde and William O'Shea.



CITATION

Robert Dudney
Dallas Times Herald



CLASS 13

The Cornelius Ryan Award for the best book on foreign affairs

WINNER

PETER WYDEN

A generation after the Bay of Pigs invasion, a book appears that describes in rich detail all the elements that went into one of the greatest debacles ever in U.S. foreign policy.

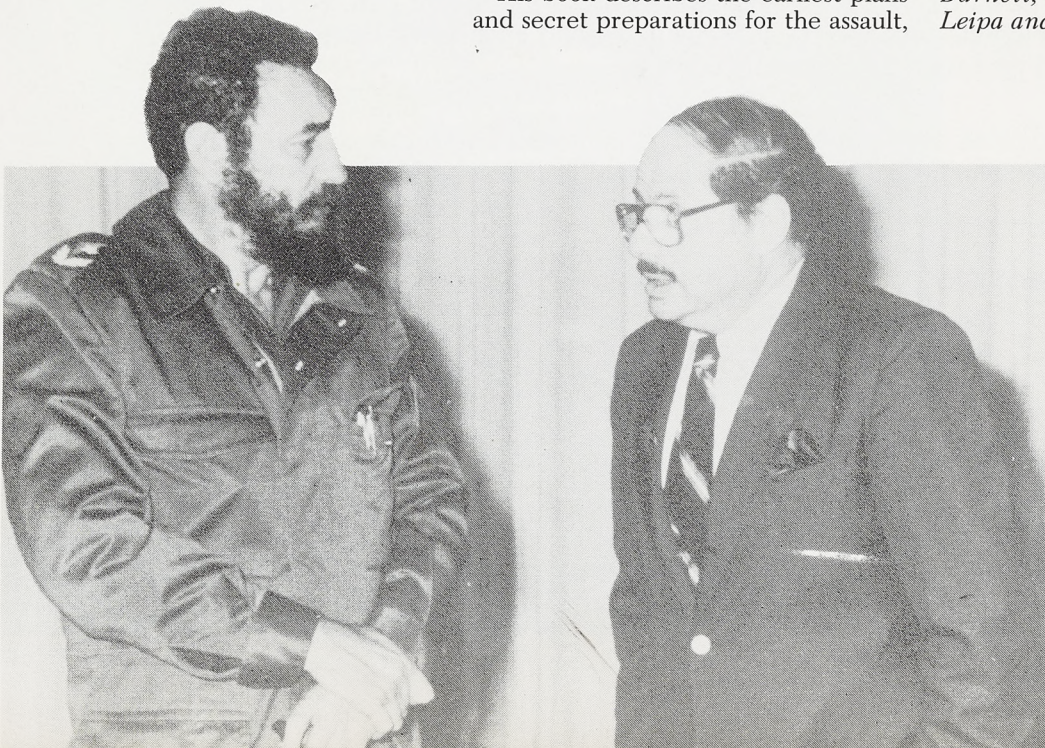
The author of *Bay of Pigs*, Peter Wyden, interviewed the major participants on both sides, civilian and military, overt and covert, and examined previously secret documents.

His book describes the earliest plans and secret preparations for the assault,

the operation itself and the hour-by-hour reactions of President Kennedy and his military and diplomatic advisers as they realized that the landings were going to fail.

Peter Wyden's research was comprehensive, his analysis clear, his writing lively and suspenseful.

Judges: Anita Diamant Berke, Hallie Burnett, Kenneth S. Giniger, Alex Leipa and Carol Smith.



Peter Wyden with Cuban President Fidel Castro. Author interviewed officials on both sides while writing his book, *Bay of Pigs*.

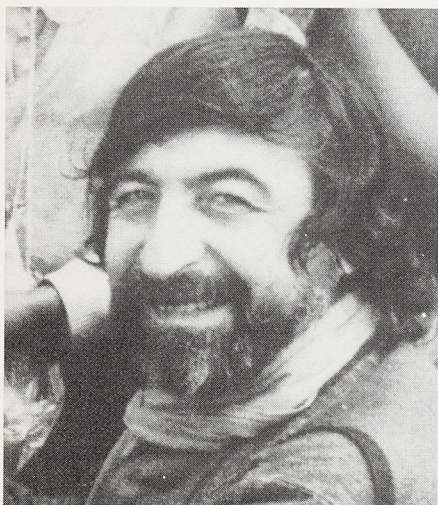
CLASS 14

The Madeline Dane Ross Award (\$400) for international reporting in any medium which demonstrates a concern for humanity

WINNER

JEAN-PIERRE LAFFONT

Sygma agency



In his professional travels, photographer Jean-Pierre Laffont was often struck by the sight of young children working at incredibly hard labor. So last year, the United Nations' Year of the Child, he visited 11 countries around the world to document the plight of 50 million children age 12 or younger who work 12 to 15 hours a day sorting garbage, carrying heavy stone, performing mining chores or doing other heavy labor.

Laffont's pictures appeared in dozens of magazines, including *Epoca* in Italy, *Der Stern* in Germany, *L'Humanité Di-*

manche and *Le Figaro* in France, and the *New York Times Magazine*. The Algerian-born Laffont, a former fashion photographer in Paris, is founder of the Sygma agency in the U.S.

The judges voted two citations in this class. They go to Dennis Trout and John Gudjohnson of WFAA-TV of Dallas, for their coverage in Cambodia, and to Peter Arnett of the Associated Press, for "The World's Homeless."

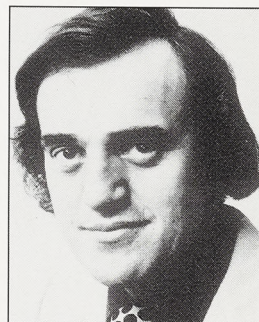
Judges: Lawrence Stessin, Julia Edwards and Marguerite Cartwright.

CITATIONS

Correspondent Dennis Trout and cameraman John Gudjohnson of WFAA-TV, Dallas, on the job in Cambodia.



Peter Arnett
Associated Press



UPI thanks you, OPC

We're pleased that you've recognized the outstanding professionalism of three members of the worldwide UPI organization with your coveted 1979 Awards. And, we're proud of their dedication to the philosophy of excellence that motivates us all at UPI.

The Hal Boyle Award to **Sajid Rizvi** for his remarkable coverage of the dangerous early period in the Iranian Hostage Crisis.

Special Photographic Citation to "**Anonymous**" for courage and enterprise in capturing the Iranian Firing Squad on film. (We still are not free to identify the person.)

OPC Award for Best Business News Reporting from Abroad to **William Holstein** for his series, "China: The Economic Picture."

UPI The News Company

1979 AWARDS

CLASS 15

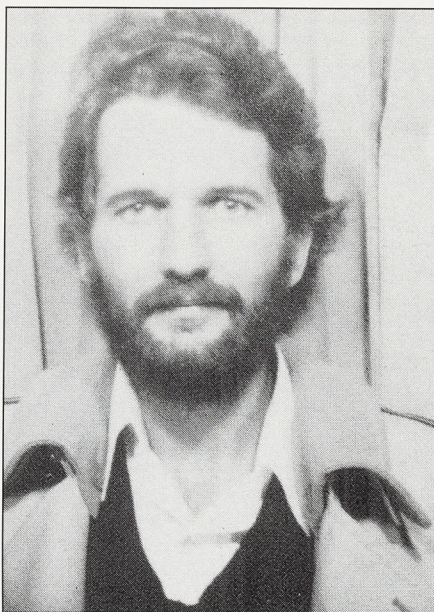
Best editorial or editorial series that most effectively discloses abuse of human rights and thereby lends support to the principle of human rights

WINNERS

PAUL HEATH HOFFEL (at right)
JUAN MONTALVO

This year the Overseas Press Club has established a new award. It is for the story that best describes abuses of human rights and supports the principle of human rights.

Paul Heath Hoeffel and Juan Montalvo were named winners of the first



such award for their story, "Missing or Dead in Argentina," in the *New York Times Magazine*. It is the story of Argentina's *desaparecidos*—people who have been "made to disappear." It tells of families with members who simply disappeared and of the futile efforts to find out what became of them. It speaks of mass unmarked graves, of children left in care of their grandparents after their parents vanished and of a political environment where such events have become common.

Paul Heath Hoeffel, international news editor of *Seven Days* magazine, is a former Buenos Aires correspondent for the *Boston Globe* and England's *Guardian*. Juan Montalvo is a pseudonym used by an Argentine scientist now living outside his country.

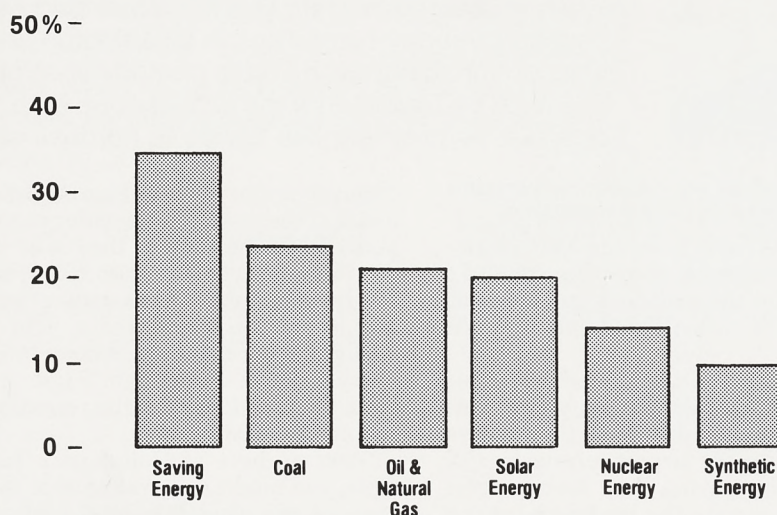
Judges: Laurie Nadel, J. Robert Moskin and Ralph Leviton.

*Congratulations to the Winners
in the Overseas Press Club
Annual Awards Competition.*

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

Published in Paris, London & Zurich.
Circulation in 143 countries.

Q: What one or two things would help improve this country's energy situation fastest?



Source: November, 1979 national probability, by telephone, of 1,000 adults.
Survey conducted for Union Carbide by Roger Seasonwein Associates.

New survey ranks conservation as America's fastest energy option.

In a new public attitude study conducted for Union Carbide by Roger Seasonwein Associates, Americans ranked conservation as the fastest (chart above) and one of the most economical ways to improve the nation's energy situation. This finding takes on particular significance as the Congress shapes an energy program which relies heavily on developing new technologies to deliver substantial amounts of synthetic fuels in the 1990's.

Appropriate as this is in the long-term, many energy analysts are convinced — and the public now agrees — that a commitment to conservation would produce faster results. In addition to speed and economy, Americans rate conservation highly on its environmental advantage — second only to solar.

The survey also shows that 56 percent of American homeowners believe their homes are not as energy efficient as they could be, and a

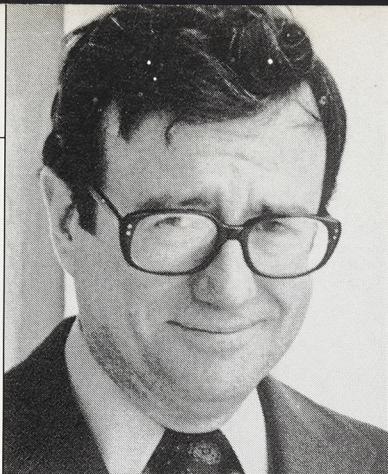
majority of these homeowners feel that they can't afford to make them more efficient. The public expresses strong support for government programs to help homeowners improve this situation, and also favors programs to help industry become more energy efficient.

In short, our survey reveals a large constituency for energy policies which exploit conservation's potential for fast results. The survey is available on request.

How to get a copy:

For a copy of the study, write
"Conservation Study"
Union Carbide Corporation
270 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017.





The Wit of Mark Russell

Campaigning? Never Wear A Tie With a Bowling Shirt

Nothing is sacred to Mark Russell, described as one of the few intentionally funny comedians in Washington. In addition to nightclub monologues, he does comedy specials on public TV. Asked by *Dateline* for his impressions of the election-year scramble, he provided this "guide to hardball campaigning."

Rule #1: Always have mud on your shoes—everyone will think you just returned from the boondocks.

House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill once said that Jimmy Carter was thought of very highly in the boondocks. I love Tip O'Neill, but to him the boondocks are a seat at the head table at the annual dinner held by the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick.

Politicians and members of the press are always coming back to Washington saying that they have been out into the land taking America's pulse. Well, the prairies over which they roam are really airport terminals, and the people they talk to are paying their lecture fees. The only boondocks they see are the landscape on the wallpaper at the local motel.

Rule #2: Don't be afraid to spend a lot of money advertising your mediocrity.

Eighty-five percent of those winning races for the U.S. Senate do so by spending more than their opponent. It is O.K. to have been born in a log cabin as long as the log cabin was in the right neighborhood. The Senate is a rich man's club, and the successful politician freely admits it: "Ah, yes—I was born in a log cabin. Mother and Father were on a rustic holiday at the time." Since mostly the rich win elections, this brings about a whole new style of campaign rhetoric: "Let's look at the record. I've got six 1-minute commercials a day on radio and television—while my opponent hands out his lousy balloons."

Rule #3: Declare yourself a winner 2 minutes after the polls open.

Every election year, the networks declare the winner earlier and earlier. In the Wisconsin primary in 1976, the experts at ABC declared Morris Udall the winner when he was leading by only $\frac{7}{10}$ of a point. How would ABC like it if the Nielsen rating service stopped two winos on the street and asked them if they watched "The Love Boat"? Prior to the 1980 Iowa caucuses, the networks heralded the projection that the next leader of the free world would be chosen by three waitresses and the owner of a hardware store in Cedar Rapids.

Why this rush to name the winner before the votes are in? These people count their chickens before the rooster and the hen even go on the hon-ey-moon. I have a suggestion. It may seem crazy and far out, but it's time for drastic measures. Wait until everyone votes—then count the ballots.

Rule #4: When campaigning in ethnic neighborhoods, a bowling shirt is not worn with a tie.

Reporters covering political campaigns—particularly in the Northern industrial cities—by tra-

dition trek into the neighborhood bars to ascertain the mood of the area. It's a wonder more of them don't get punched in the nose as they sidle up to a patron and say: "Pardon me, sir. I gather by your appearance that you are a member of this nation's great working class. I wonder if you could share your thoughts on how George Bush's domestic policies interface with the citizenry here in Pittsburgh?" Just once I'd like to see some burly welder stick the reporter's microphone into his pitcher of Miller's.

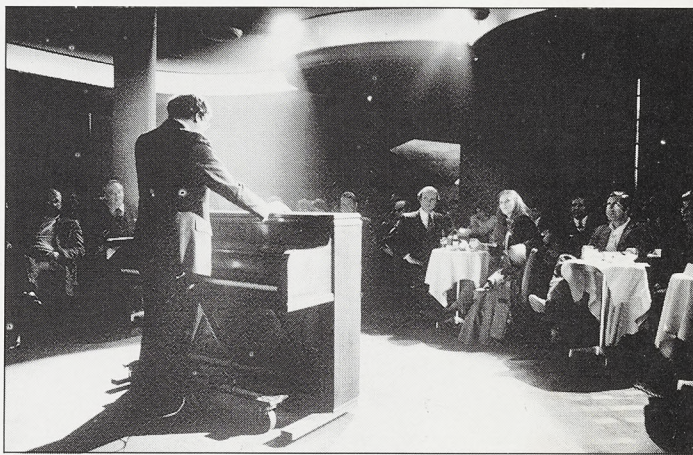
"And so, here at Helminiak's Tap Room in Akron, Ohio, you might say, Walter, that the people are suspicious of any candidate until he buys a round for the house. Bob Schieffer, CBS News, Akron."

"That's the way it is. When you're out of Schlitz, you're out of wisdom."

What these political geniuses don't know is that the old stereotypes are not reliable. Ethnic also go to libraries. If you're an ethnic and wish to avoid all the reporters, go to a museum; they'll never look for you there.

I've had a lot of fun over the years with a story that I originally made up about Sargent Shriver. The story could be applied to a George Bush or any office seeker not completely at home in a blue-collar saloon:

Kenny Rogers whines over the jukebox in a duet with the bonging of the pinballs; the neon Anheuser-Busch eagle over the bar illuminates the "No Checks Cashed" sign, and the 30-year-old aroma of thousands of tapped kegs fills the air. The candidate, wearing a hard hat with his Chesterfield coat, joins in the fun. He bellies up to the bar and says, "I'll have a Courvoisier, please." The room falls silent, and the bartender says, "Do you want mustard on it?"



At home base—Washington's Shoreham Americana Hotel—Russell bangs away at politicians and the piano with equal gusto.

Grace is taking a stand on the issues that are stunting the growth of our economy.

Investment is the lifeblood of the free enterprise system.

But heavy taxes on investment dollars have reduced the incentive to invest in American business.

As a result, our country has experienced a declining rate of productivity and other forms of economic deterioration.

At W.R. Grace & Co., we think this trend can be reversed. The ad reprinted

below contains constructive suggestions designed to free American business from a constricting lack of capital. Please take a moment to read it.

The ad was just one in a continuing series designed to heighten awareness of the problems facing our economy. And to provide sensible solutions which can keep taxes from taking the freedom out of free enterprise.

It's time for stockholders to take stock of double taxation.

Right now, the U.S. Congress is considering a number of Federal tax reforms—one of which calls for an end to double taxation.

And while everyone has a stake in improving our tax structure, stockholders have a special interest in the double taxation issue.

You see, corporate income that's used to pay dividends is subject to corporate taxes. But the dividends themselves are also subject to personal income taxes. So stockholders in effect pay taxes on money that's already been taxed. And that's patently unfair.

Unfortunately, this burden weighs most heavily on that 40 per cent of the nation's shareholders who are either retired or living on fixed incomes. Relief from double taxation would help offset the direct effect that inflation has on these citizens' incomes.

One way to eliminate double taxation is called the "shareholder credit" plan. If this plan were adopted, you'd determine the tax corporations pay on the earnings from which the dividend is paid—and add that amount back to your dividend

income to reach a "grossed up" dividend figure. Then you'd figure your taxes in the usual way, but you would take a tax credit equal to the adjustment or "gross up." This proposal would offer significant tax savings to most shareholders.

Another, simpler method would be to raise the dividend exclusion from \$100 (\$200 for joint returns) to \$500 or even \$1,000. This would make dividend income tax-free for most small investors.

As you can see, the double taxation issue isn't an easy one to resolve. And the final solution may lie in a proposal that hasn't yet been considered.

Regardless of the solution we adopt, it's important for stockholders to let their views be known. And the time to do it is now.

Let your elected Senators and Representatives in Washington hear your views. It's the only way they can adopt reforms that reflect stockholders' interest in preserving their dividends.

One step ahead of a changing world.

GRACE
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For Press Information Contact: Fred Bona (212) 764-6022 or Paul Keels (212) 764-6024.

Latest Smoker Research Just In:
MERIT undisputed victor over leading high tars
in tests comparing taste and tar level.

Smokers Prefer Merit 3 To 1!

**Smokers find the taste of low tar
MERIT matches that of high tar cigarettes.**

New taste-test results prove it.

Proof: A significant majority of smokers rated MERIT taste as good as—or better than—leading high tar brands. Even cigarettes having twice the tar!

Proof: Of the 95% stating a preference when tar levels were revealed, 3 out of 4 smokers chose the MERIT low tar/good taste combination over high tar leaders.

**MERIT smokers rate low tar
MERIT satisfying taste
alternative to high tar brands.**

New national smoker study results prove it.

Proof: The overwhelming

majority of MERIT smokers polled felt they didn't sacrifice taste in switching from high tar cigarettes.

Proof: 96% of MERIT smokers don't miss former high tar brands.

Proof: 9 out of 10 enjoy smoking as much since switching to MERIT, are glad they switched, and report MERIT is the best tasting low tar they've ever tried!

You've read the results. The conclusion is clearer than ever: MERIT delivers a winning combination of taste and low tar.

A combination that seems to be attracting more and more smokers every day and—more importantly—satisfying them long term.



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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Kings: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—
100's Reg: 10 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine—
100's Men: 11 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine
av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec '79

MERIT

Kings & 100's